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HISTORY OF FRANCE

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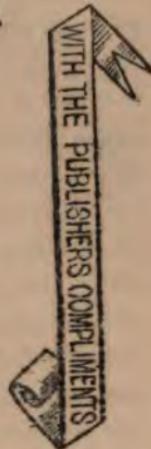
HISTORY OF FRANCE

FOR

JUNIOR CLASSES.

BY

SUTHERLAND MENZIES.



LONDON AND GLASGOW:
WILLIAM COLLINS, SONS, & COMPANY.

1875,

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PREFACE.

THE general march of French history, and the part played in the work of civilization by the French nation, have been faithfully, though briefly, traced in the following pages. Heavy misfortunes have lately befallen France—a country which, with all its drawbacks, is still one of the most cultivated of the world; and Frenchmen of the present generation will probably carry to their graves an incurable grief—the loss of military glory. No political or theological bias has been suffered to colour or efface any salient feature in the narrative which relates to the past of one of the most illustrious of nations. In spite of the passions, the ambitions, the cravings and criminal errors of her citizens, it is to be hoped that *the spirit of order*, conservative and reformative, will in the end prevail; and in spite of factious demagogues, who in the place of patriotism substitute a coalition of self-seeking covetousness, the spirit of order will create a new France sufficiently wise in thought and action to continue the glorious part which the old has played in the progress of modern civilization. It may be earnestly hoped that that lucid and sympathetic genius, which

knows how to maintain, alike in the useful and the frivolous, the traditions of art, and whose grievous political trials, by sparing others the like cruel experiences, may create even out of her follies the future wisdom of nations.

SUTHERLAND MENZIES.

April, 1875.

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HISTORY OF FRANCE.

FIRST PERIOD.

PRIMITIVE POPULATIONS.

THE most ancient inhabitants of Eastern Europe were the Gaulois or Gauls, sprung, like the Greeks, the Latins, and the Slaves, from those plains of Central Asia which were the cradle of the human race. They gave the name of Gaul to the country now called France—that country, the ancient boundaries of which were comprised between two seas, the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean; two chains of lofty mountains, the Alps and the Pyrenees; together with one of the greatest rivers of Europe, the Rhine—a territory larger by one-fourth than the France of the present time.

Three or four hundred primitive populations, divided into three great families, the Kelts or Gauls, the Belgians or Kymri, and the Iberians or Vascons (*Basques*), anciently shared amongst them the Gallic territory. The Kelts were located to the south of the Cevennes mountains; the Aquitains to the south of the Loire; the Allobroges, in Dauphiny and Savoy; the Helvetians, in Switzerland; the Sequanes, in Franche-Comté; the Eduens, in Burgundy and Nivernais; the Bituriges, in Berry; the Avernes, in Auvergne; the Armoricans, our neighbours of the sea, in Brittany and Normandy. Later, there was to the north the powerful confederation of the Belgians, *between the Rhine, the Seine, and the Marne.*

The religion of the Gauls, like that of other pagan nations, was a worship of the forces of nature. At first they adored the thunder, the stars, the ocean, the rivers, the lakes, the wind. The most terrible wind they called *Kirk*; the spirit of thunder, *Tarann*; the god of the sun, *Bel*; the genius of the Alps, *Pennin*; that of the immense forest of the Ardennes, *Arduine*. Later, the Druids (*the men of the oaks*), doubtless taught the people to adore the moral and intelligent powers: *Hesus*, the genius of war; *Teutates*, that of commerce and the inventor of the arts; *Ogmius*, the god of poetry and eloquence, who was represented with chains of gold coming out of his mouth wherewith to seize and carry away those who listened to him. The feast of Teutates was celebrated on the first night of the new year in the forests by torch-light. That night also, according to tradition, the chief priests gathered with a golden sickle the mistletoe, a parasitic plant which grows upon the branches of certain trees, and which played an important part in the religious ceremonies and medicine of the Gauls; but they made use only of that which grew upon the oak, their sacred tree. To Hesus they often devoted, before a battle began, the spoils of the enemy, and after the victory they sacrificed to him what remained to them of the cattle they had carried off.

Historians have recorded of this people that their courage and fierceness rendered them so terrible to the Romans, that, on the first intelligence of their march, extraordinary levies were made, sacrifices offered, and the law which granted an exemption from military service to priests and old men was for the time suspended. The Gauls even set fire to Rome itself; nor were they subdued till Julius Caesar, whose arms no race or nation could withstand, defeated them in a series of great battles.

Gaul was reduced by Cæsar, under subjection to the Romans, about fifty years previous to the birth of Christ. The country remained during two whole centuries under their sway, troubled, nevertheless, during the latter half

of the period by the incursions, conflicts, and finally by the settlement of barbarian invaders.

Of the natural and well-known boundaries of the Roman province of Gaul, the Rhine was the most important. It was the great barrier which defended the empire from the errant tribes and nations that swarmed beyond. Wealth and civilization were on one side of the stream; want and barbarism on the other.

The most formidable enemies which the Romans had to contend with were a people who inhabited the German forests and districts lying on the lower Rhine and the Weser, and who called themselves Franks—an appellation which it is said they had assumed to express their rooted determination to be *free*. These people invaded Gallia, Belgica, and, after a continued struggle of 130 years, succeeded in making themselves masters of a considerable tract of land, and established their capital at Treves.

SECOND PERIOD.

MEROVINGIAN FRANCE.

THE origin of the French monarchy is involved in utter obscurity. Legendary chronicles record a Pharamond and a Meroveus; the latter the head of the first race of the Kings of France termed the Merovingian; but the authentic history of the Franks commences only with his grandson Clovis, the youthful chief of the Salian Franks, in the year 481. He was a soldier from his childhood, and, while only in the twentieth year of his age, achieved the conquest of Gaul, by the defeat of Syagrius the Roman Governor at Soissons; and marrying Clotilda, niece (while some historians say daughter) of the King of Burgundy, soon added that province to his dominions by dethroning the king, and thus became the true founder of the French empire. His territory at first was much smaller than what we now call France, as neither Anjou, Brittany, Touraine, nor Toulouse belonged to it, but each of these countries was separately governed.

An incident in this first campaign of Clovis deserves notice, as illustrating the manners of the times, the rude form of government which prevailed among the Frankish tribes and the personal character of their leader. The soldiers had carried off from one of the churches of Rheims a consecrated vase of considerable beauty and value. The bishop of Rheims sent a messenger to Clovis to entreat that the vase might be restored. The king promised satisfaction; and at a general division of the spoil which took place at Soissons, he requested, as a favour, that the precious vase might be placed at his disposal, in addition to the portion which fell to him by lot. All consented,

with the exception of one soldier, who, raising his battle-axe, struck a violent blow at the vase, exclaiming, "Never shalt thou have more than thy allotted share." Clovis dissembled his resentment; but a year afterwards, at a general review of his troops, he approached the soldier who had thus insulted him, and taking his axe from his hands, threw it at his feet, with a reproof for not keeping his arms in better condition. The man stooped to pick up his weapon, when Clovis, seizing the moment, cleft his skull with a single blow of his own battle-axe. "It was thus," cried the stern chief, "that thou didst cleave the vase at Soissons."

About the year 500 the little state of Armorica, a part of which now forms the province of Brittany, was extinguished by the victories of Clovis.

Clovis was educated in the pagan religion, though Christianity had been introduced into Gaul in the second century. Happily, Clotilda was a Christian, and used all her influence with Clovis to persuade him to embrace her religion; but although he probably listened to her arguments, he did not declare himself a convert to Christianity till after the battle of Tolbiac. The manner of his conversion is thus related:—The Franks of Gaul being at war with the Franks of Germany, the two armies met near Cologne. Before the engagement began he made a vow that if the victory was on the side of the Franks, the god Clotilda worshipped should be acknowledged and adored by all the nation under his rule. He was successful, and immediately after the battle was baptized by St. Remigius, bishop of Rheims, and his subjects became Christians after their sovereign's example. The Visigoths were masters at this time of Aquitain, the country between the Rhone and Loire, and though, like the Franks, they also had been converted to Christianity, yet, holding tenets opposed to those of Clotilda, the intemperate zeal of Clovis prompted the extirpation of these so-called heretics, who retreated across the Pyrenees into Spain, and the province of Aquitania became part of the kingdom of the Franks. They

did not, however, long retain it; for Theodoric the Great, King of the Ostrogoths, and married to the sister of Clovis, opposed him in this attempt, and defeating him in the battle of Arles, added Aquitania to his own dominions. The daughter of Theodoric, indeed, had married the King of the Visigoths, so that he fought for the interests of his grandson.

Clovis died in 511, having reigned thirty years. He had first fixed his residence at Soissons, and was crowned in the cathedral at Rheims, but about the middle of his reign he transferred the seat of sovereignty to Paris. Paris had been originally founded by the Kelts; but in the time of Caesar, who speaks of it by the name of Lutetia, it consisted of only a few circular huts, built of earth and wood and thatched with reeds. The Romans adorned it with many noble buildings, the ruins of some of which are still to be seen. When conquered by the Franks the whole of it was contained within the limits of the little island of the Seine, called the *cité*—the centre and smallest portion of the present splendid metropolis of France.

At the death of Clovis, the kingdom of the Franks extended from the German Ocean to the Adour, the Cevennes, and from the confines of Brittany to the Rhone and the Saone. The Rhine was their boundary on the north-east. Burgundy and Brittany had been reduced to a condition of tributary states, and were bound to furnish a contingent to the Frankish armies. Frankish Gaul, however, was very far from being brought into a well-organised political unity.

The descendants of Clovis, or the Merovingians, as they are called from Merovée or Meroveus, their supposed founder, reigned over the Franks for nearly two centuries and a half. That long period occupies but a brief space in history; its annals offer but a succession of barbarism and crime. From Clovis to Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne, there existed not a personage worthy of the reader's attention or memory; there is not recorded an event or anecdote which could excite any feeling save disgust.

The race of Clovis became effete from gross licentiousness, and was thinned by mutual slaughter. Monarchs or monarch's sons could not long escape the sword of the assassin; whilst to entrust an infant king to the care of one of his own race, or of royal blood, even if such survived, was to deliver him to certain destruction. Hence came the necessity of electing regents amongst the Frank chiefs. The office fell to the only magistrate or minister existing in that rude state of society. This was the *mordom* or *major domus*, as it is rendered in Latin, who was at once a royal judge and a kind of steward of the household.

The family of Pepin succeeded in rendering the office hereditary in their race, and long wielded the power, without assuming the name and honours, of royalty. These belonged to the long-haired race (*fainéants* or "do nothing" kings), as the descendants of Clovis were called, from never cutting the locks of the young princes.

By Clotilda, Clovis had four sons, Thierry, Chlodomir, Childebert, and Clothaire, between whom the kingdom was divided. Queen Clotilda had long vowed vengeance against the murderers of her father; and her three sons, at her earnest entreaty, undertook, in 523, an expedition against Sigismund and Gondemar, the joint kings of Burgundy. The Burgundians were defeated, and Sigismund, falling into the hands of Chlodomir, was barbarously murdered, with his whole family. But in a second campaign, Chlodomir was allured into an ambuscade, and fell dead on the spot, pierced by a hundred wounds. The Burgundian war continued, with some intervals, for ten years longer; but in 534 the kingdom was finally subdued and annexed to the empire of the Franks. Few crimes, even in that age of barbarism, surpass in atrocity that committed by Childebert and Clothaire against the orphan children of their brother Chlodomir. Queen Clotilda had taken these young princes under her own guardianship, hoping to see them one day put in possession of their father's kingdom. By a base artifice Childebert and Clothaire decoyed their nephews into their power, and

then sent a messenger to Clotilda with a pair of scissors and a naked sword, bidding her decide whether the royal youths should be shaven, and thus made incapable of reigning, or be put to death outright. The queen, almost beside herself with horror, exclaimed that she would rather see them dead than degraded. Clothaire, on receiving this reply, murdered the two elder princes with his own hand; and was about to poniard the third, Clodowald, when some of his attendants rushed into the room, and by main force bore away the child to a place of security. Clodowald, on reaching the age of discretion, renounced his regal inheritance, retired from the world, and died a priest. He was afterwards honoured with a place in the calendar of the Church; and his name, slightly altered, survives in the ruins of the palace of St. Cloud, recently destroyed during the Franco-German war.

After the death of Thierry, Clothaire became sole king of France, but reigned only three years over the entire territory of Clovis, and his end was as fearful as his crimes had been enormous, for he was poisoned by his own son. He died in 561, after a reign of fifty years.

Although the partition of the monarchy had led to so much crime, yet upon the death of Clothaire I., it was again divided between his four surviving sons—Charibert, Gontrham, Chilperic, and Sigebert—into the several kingdoms of Paris, Soissons, Metz, and Burgundy. The reigns of these princes are only remarkable for the wickedness of the wives of two of them. Sigebert had married Brunehaut, daughter of the King of Spain, and Chilperic, Fredegonde, a woman of low birth, but of great talents. Brunehaut having shed the blood of two of her own sons, and that of many other persons, and being at length arrested, tried for her crimes, and found guilty, she was tied to the tail of a wild horse, and dragged about until she was torn in pieces. The guilt of Fredegonde was equally great; for she caused her brother-in-law Sigebert, and even her own husband, to be murdered; but, by the protection of Gontrham, she escaped in this life the punishment due to her crimes.

On account of the youth of Childebert II., son of Sigebert and Brunehaut, and Clothaire II., son of Chilperic and Fredegonde, the kingdoms of these princes were governed by their two mothers. Fredegonde died in 597, and Brunehaut was put to death by Clothaire II. in the year 613. At this time the name of Neustria was commonly given to that portion of the French territory which stretched from the Meuse and Loire to the sea; and the name of Austrasia to the district which lay between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Moselle, and of which Metz was the capital.

Gonthram died in 593. Childebert reunited the two kingdoms, and attempted to seize upon that of his cousin Clothaire II., the son of Fredegonde; but his troops were defeated at Droissy, near Soissons, and before he had time to repair that check, a sudden sickness carried him off in 596. He left two sons, the eldest of whom, Theodebert II., had Austrasia; the other, Thierry II., Burgundy. After their deaths, Clothaire II. reigned alone till 628, when he died, leaving his kingdom between his two sons, Dagobert I. and Charibert II.

Clothaire, in 622, had made his son Dagobert king of the Austrasians, under the direction of the mayor, Pepin de Landen, or the *Old*, and of Saint Arnoulf, bishop of Metz. These two personages, ancestors of the Carlovingian house, were closely allied by the marriage of their children: Ansegise, the son of Arnoulf, had espoused a daughter of Pepin de Landen, and of their union was born Pepin d'Heristal.

Dagobert, by the murder of his brother, in 631, made himself master of the whole kingdom. He was the most powerful and the most popular of the Merovingian kings. "A terrible prince," says his biographer, "towards rebels and traitors, grasping firmly the royal sceptre, and standing like a lion against the factious." He founded the abbey of St. Denis, wherein the greater number of the kings of France lie buried; he encouraged the slight vestiges of art then existing, and exhibited a luxury unknown to his ferocious predecessors. For this he has

been called "the Solomon of the Franks," and the name of the goldsmith, Saint Eloi, his minister, linked with his own.

The reign of Dagobert was a short gleam of prosperity between a period of conquest and another of rapid decadence. Dagobert died in 638, and his successors, either from their youth or from their imbecility, were incapable of taking any part in the government. All power fell entirely into the hands of the "mayors of the palace." Mention has been made already of those officers, who, at first simple judges over all quarrels which arose within the palace, became by degrees from chiefs of the aristocracy, at the same time the principal ministers of the kings. In 613, when the nobles delivered up Brunehaut to the vengeance of the sons of Fredegonde, the mayors of the palace took care to stipulate for themselves. "Varnachaire," says the contemporary chronicler (Frede-gaire), was constituted mayor of the palace of Burgundy, and received from the king an oath that he should never be degraded. Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy had each their separate mayors of the palace, who all strove to grasp the principal power.

Gaul now for some ages was characterised under the incapable hands of the Merovingian dynasty by more than ancient barbarism. On the death of Dagobert III. (715), who left two infant sons, those ambitious men, the mayors of the palace, founded a new power, which for some generations held the Frank sovereigns in absolute subjection, and left them little more than the title of king. In their own names they assumed the power of pardoning offences, of distributing offices, of filling vacant fiefs, and of transmitting their honours and possessions to their descendants. In all this, however, they were obliged to proceed with much caution, having in the other great feudatories not only equals, but rivals. Austrasia and Neustria, the two great divisions of the Frankish monarchy, the former including the territories bordering on the Rhine, the latter the more central parts of modern France, were nominally governed by Thierry IV., but

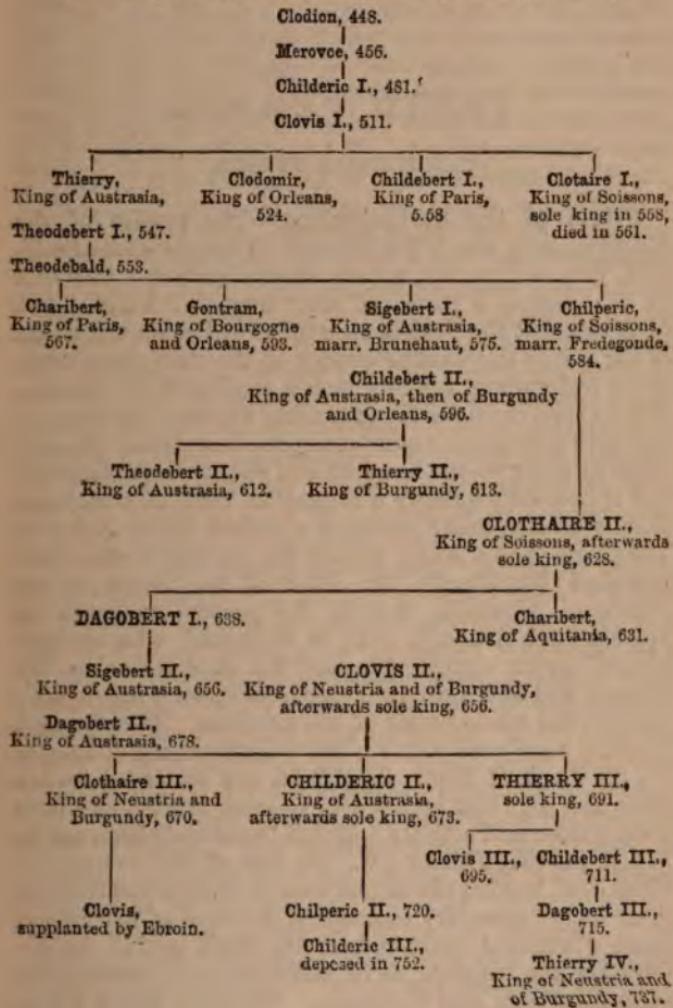
in reality by Pepin d'Heristal, mayor of the palace and duke of France, who, restricting his sovereign to a small domain, ruled France for thirty years with great wisdom and good policy. His son, Charles Martel, succeeded to his power, and, under a similar title, governed for twenty-six years with equal ability and success. He was victorious over all his domestic foes; his arms kept in awe the surrounding nations; and he delivered France from the ravages of the Saracens, who at that time were making great progress in the parts bordering upon Spain, and whom he entirely defeated, between Tours and Poitiers (A.D. 732), and again near Avignon, in 737, thereby, in all likelihood, securing Lombardy, Italy, and eventually, perhaps, the Eastern empire from the preponderance of the Moslems; such a line of conquest, according to their own writers, having been contemplated by the Arabian commander. In the same year died Thierry IV., the last of the "sluggard" kings (*fainéant*), when Charles, no longer thinking it necessary to appoint another nominal king, at his death, in 741, bequeathed the kingdom as an absolute right between his two sons Pepin and Carloman. Aquitania was not included in this bequest. It was governed by dukes of its own, and refused to acknowledge the authority of Charles. Pepin and Carloman assumed the title and power of kings, and thus put an end to the Merovingian dynasty, or that of the race of Clovis, which had reigned from 481 to 741; in all, 260 years.

The male members of the Merovingian royal family were distinguished from the rest of the people, by the custom of wearing their hair in long curls hanging down over their shoulders, whilst all the other Franks had it cut very short. From this custom they are sometimes called the "long-haired kings" (*les rois chevelures*). The Merovingian family, says Eginhard, had not for a long time given proof of any virtue, or of anything illustrious save the title of king. The prince contented himself with the exhibition of his flowing locks and ample beard, with sitting on the throne and representing the monarch.

He gave audience to ambassadors and made replies to them, which he was taught, or rather ordered to make. With the exception of an alimentary pension, badly secured, and which the prefect of the palace regulated, according to his good pleasure, he possessed only a single villa with a very moderate income, wherein he kept his court, composed of a very small number of domestics. If it were necessary that he should go to any distance, he travelled in a chariot drawn by oxen, led by a drover in peasant fashion. It was thus he repaired to the general assembly of the nation, which met once a year to discuss the affairs of the kingdom. The end of this first dynasty of the Frank kings neither excited regret nor any worthy remembrance.

In the beginning of the sixth century some natives of Britain fled from the persecutions of their Saxon conquerors, and took refuge on the coasts of Armorica, which from them acquired the name of Bretagne. These Bretons, although they held themselves subject to the kings of France, still remained a distinct people, were governed by their own laws, and retained many of their own customs. And, notwithstanding the length of time since they settled in France, their posterity still retain the manners and appearance of a separate race. The Gauls adhered to their own code of laws, which was derived from the Roman law; the Franks to the law which they had brought out of Germany, and which was called the Salic law, from the name of one of their ancient tribes. The Salic law permitted the king's wife to have the name of Queen, but allowed no woman to govern or be a queen in her own right. In the variety of changes and revolutions that have occurred in France during twelve hundred years, since Clovis, this law has always been observed in its original force, no woman having ever yet ascended the throne of France.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MEROVINGIANS.

(The date following each name is that of the king's death).

THIRD PERIOD.

CARLOVINGIAN FRANCE.

Origin of the Carlovingians.—The empire of the Merovingians, which had reached its apogee under Dagobert, had, as has been shown, slowly crumbled to pieces in the incapable hands of the “sluggard” kings. But from amongst the Franks who preserved upon the banks of the Rhine the warlike energy of the first conquerors, there had sprung a family which combined all the conditions then requisite for exercising a great influence. It had very considerable possessions, for it reckoned amongst them as many as one hundred and twenty-three domains, and it had consequently a numerous band of adherents, that is to say, many warriors attached to its fortunes. The chiefs of this family during the seventh century had possessed hereditarily the office of the mayor of the Palace of Austrasia; first in the persons of Pepin de Landen and Arnoulf; next in Grimbald, who thought himself strong enough to place his own son upon the throne; and at length in Pepin d'Heristal who, in 687, usurped the whole power of the kingdom. (Landen and Heristal were small towns in the neighbourhood of Liege.) On the death of Pepin, in 714, he was succeeded in his office and dignities by his son, Charles Martel, of whose great valour and activity mention has already been made. When, in 737, Thierry IV., the last of the “sluggard” kings died, leaving the throne vacant, Charles had thought it no longer necessary to keep up the form of appointing another nominal king, and at his death in 741, he bequeathed the kingdom, as in absolute right, between his two sons, Pepin and Carloman. The first, named Pepin

the Short, had Neustria and Burgundy; Carloman, Austrasia and the territories beyond the Rhine. This division of the kingdom which Charles had made between his two sons did not last long. Carloman, in 747, entered the monastery of Mont Cassin, and Pepin thus became sole monarch. Master of the western regions, and desirous of gaining over the Neustrians, by flattering their ancient attachment for the royal race of Meroveus, he proclaimed Childeric III. But the nominal sovereignty of that prince was of short duration, for Pepin, finding his own power firmly established, compelled him to retire into a monastery, and caused himself to be proclaimed king before an assembly of the nation at Soissons. By a decree of the Roman pontiff he assumed the title of King of the Franks, and, in order to render his person sacred and inviolable in that high dignity, he was anointed with the sacred oil by the hand of Boniface, archbishop and martyr; the church thus renewing, for the son of Charles Martel, the long-disused Hebrew ceremonial of consecrating that new royalty. However, as he was not certain that such a revolution did not appear to some scrupulous partisans of the legitimacy of the Merovingians an usurpation, he hastened to justify it by rendering military services to the church. Troubling himself very little about that country to which we will henceforward give its modern name—Germany, he undertook only two expeditions against the Saxons, who promised a tribute of three hundred horses and free entrance into their country to the Christian priests. In that quarter he seems not to have wished to trouble by his arms the work of civilization which the missionaries were then accomplishing. All his attention and all his strength were directed towards the countries of the south, towards Italy, Aquitania, and Southern Gaul. Pepin died at Paris on his return from the expedition of 768, in which he achieved the conquest of Aquitania; “and,” says Eginhard, “with the consent of his nobles, divided, on his death-bed, the kingdom of France between his two sons, Charles and Carloman.” Pepin was surnamed the *Short*.

from the smallness of his stature, which detracted in nowise from his physical strength, if a very doubtful anecdote be credible that with one blow he fractured the skull of a lion that no one dared to encounter. He was a man of great activity of mind and body, and reigned for seventeen years with dignity and success, the founder of the second race of monarchs known as the Carlovingian. In 759, he annexed to his own dominions Narbonne and a great part of Languedoc, then called Septimania, which had been conquered from the Visigoths by the Saracens. Upon Pepin fell a twofold task, to reconstruct the empire of the Franks which was falling to pieces, and to reconstruct the royal authority, then in ruins. Of these two things, the second was more difficult to accomplish than the first.

Charlemagne and Carloman (768-771).—This division of the empire existed for only three years, and those three years were employed in finishing the work of Pepin in Aquitania. In order to keep in check its turbulent population, Pepin had already built the castle of Turenne, and Charlemagne in the very capital, Bordeaux, placed over the portal of the church of St. Croix a statue of his father, as a sign alike of triumph and menace against the great city.

Carloman had badly supported his elder brother in that war, and a misunderstanding arose between those two princes which threatened a civil war, when Carloman died, leaving sons. The Austrasians having to choose between those children and their uncle Charlemagne, who had already shown himself a worthy successor of Pepin, did not hesitate to proclaim him their king. The first act of Charlemagne (or Charles the Great, *Carolus Magnus*, though a name not given him till after his death, it is now adopted as that by which his career is recorded in history), showed the warrior eager for conquest. He raised an army, and advanced with it beyond the Loire. For centuries barbarism had been continually making war upon civilization, conquering, destroying, or blending with it. The conquest was not yet over, the

amalgamation not perfect. The rude Austrasians of the Rhine had lately subdued the more polite Neustrians of the banks of the Seine. But Aquitania and the southern provinces were, with respect to Neustria, what Neustria had been to Austrasia, far more civilised and Latinised, and the hate on the one side equalled the desire of conquest and domination on the other. Pepin had vanquished the Aquitanians. Upon his death they rebelled, rallying round one of the family of their ancient dukes. But the courage of the southerns failed before the approach of Charlemagne and his northern army; their troops dispersed, and their chief remained a prisoner. Charlemagne, ere he retired, built the strong castle of Fronsac, on the banks of the Dordogne, and garrisoned it, to keep the malcontent province in subjection. The Franks had hitherto a hatred of towns, and a contempt of fortifications. This is the first instance among them of dominating a country by means of a fortress, and marks how advanced were the views of Charlemagne beyond those of his time.

Charlemagne's next enemies were the Saxons—the most formidable and obstinate that he encountered during his reign. For the present, however, after a successful campaign in their wild country, his attention was called away towards Italy, where his conquests and alliances produced events as important in their consequences, perhaps, as any to be found in modern history. He had contracted a matrimonial alliance with Hermongarde, a Lombard princess; but had repudiated her within a year after the marriage—apparently from mere caprice—and sent her back dishonoured to her father. Didier, exasperated by this gross outrage, appealed to the pope, Adrian I., to recognise the two young sons of Carloman as their father's lawful successors; and upon the pontiff's refusal, the Lombard army invaded the papal territory, seized several cities, and threatened Rome itself. In the autumn of 773, Adrian sent messengers in urgent haste to the king of the Franks, to apprise him of his danger and implore immediate succour. Charlemagne assembled his

forces at Geneva, and crossed the Alps in two grand divisions—the first by the Valais and Mont Joux, the second by Savoy and Mont Cenis. Checked for a moment by the enemy in their descent from the mountains, the Franks overpowered all resistance when once they had reached the plain. Didier fled to Pavia; his son Adalhgis, with whom were the widow and children of Carloman, threw himself into Verona. Both cities were invested by the Franks, and both, after some months, surrendered at discretion. The Lombard king, with his wife and daughter, the widowed queen of Carloman and the orphan princes, all fell into the hands of the conqueror. Didier was sent captive to France, and confined first at Liege, afterwards in the abbey of Corbey. The fate of the young princes is more doubtful, but it seems probable that they were likewise compelled to bury themselves for life in the obscurity of the cloister.

In the course of a reign of forty-five years, Charlemagne extended the limits of his empire beyond the Danube; subdued Dacia, Dalmatia, and Istria; conquered and subjected all the barbarous tribes to the banks of the Vistula, and successfully encountered the arms of the Saracens, the Huns, the Bulgarians, and the Saxons. His war with the Saxons was of thirty years duration, and their final conquest was not achieved without an inhuman waste of blood, through what has been considered a mistaken zeal for the propagation of Christianity, by measures which that religion cannot be said to sanction or approve.

All these wars were very nearly finished in the year 800. Charlemagne then found himself master of France, of Germany, of three-quarters of Italy, and a part of Spain; he had increased by more than a third the extent of territory which his father had left him. These vast possessions were no longer a kingdom, but an empire. He thought he had done enough to be authorised to seat himself on the throne of the west, and, as his father had required at the hands of the pope his regal crown, so it was from the pope that he demanded his imperial diadem.

He was therefore, with great ceremony, created Emperor of the West in St. Peter's, at Rome, by Pope Leo III., on Christmas day, 800. It was a great event, for that imperial title which had remained buried under the ruins wrought by the barbarians, was drawn thence by the Roman pontiff, and shown to scattered nations and enemies as a rallying sign. A new right was created for those who should inherit that crown—the right of ruling over the Italian, German, and French peoples, who then found themselves united under the sceptre of the first Germanic emperor. When circumstances arising out of family rights, and through lapse of time, caused this title to pass to the German kings, France found herself strong enough to repulse the domination of a foreign Caesar, but not Italy. Thence sprung one half of the evils which the peninsula was doomed to suffer.

Of these extensive conquests of Charlemagne, some were durable, others ephemeral; some were useful, others not.

In extending the outposts of his empire as far as the Eyder, Charlemagne thought to have shut out from Germany the men of the north. But a new enemy sprung up in the Normans, a people who dwelt on the northern shores of the Baltic, who, under the conduct of a brave leader named Godfrey, manned their ships and made a piratical descent upon Friesland in 808. The emperor led an army against them, but finding this new enemy more powerful than he had expected, he prudently made peace and returned home.

Some writers have sought to represent Charlemagne as a royal sage, a pacific prince who only took up arms in self-defence. Truth compels a more faithful though ruder portraiture. He had no invasion to dread. The Arabs were scattered, the Avars (Bavarians) weakened, and the Saxons impotent to make any serious war beyond their forests and marches. If he led the Franks beyond their own frontiers, it was that he had, like so many other monarchs, the ambition of reigning over more nations and of leaving a high-sounding name to posterity.

Charlemagne died 28th January, 814, in the seventy-second year of his age. His reign lasted forty-four years, and may be summed up as an immense and glorious effort to bring under subjection the barbarian world and that which survived the Roman civilization ; to put an end to the chaos born of invasion ; and to found a settled state of society in which the authority of the emperor closely united to that of the pope should maintain order alike in church and state. A very difficult problem, which it was given Charlemagne to solve, but of which all the difficulties did not become apparent until after his death. The work of Charlemagne, in fact, did not last ; and the causes of its fall will shortly be shown. The name of this powerful though rude genius is not the less surrounded with a lasting glory ; and it has remained in the memory of nations with that of three or four other great men who have done, if not always the greatest amount of good, at least have made the most noise in the world. For Charlemagne, the amount of good accomplished very far surpasses that which was only vain renown and sterile ambition. He created modern Germany, and if that chain of nations, the links of which he had sought to rivet, broke, his great image loomed over the feudal times as the genius of order, continually inviting the dispersed races to emerge from chaos, to seek union and peace under the sway of a strong and renowned chief.

FOURTH PERIOD.

FEUDAL FRANCE.

THE glory of the Carlovingian race had departed with Charlemagne. That great man had indeed been able to found a great empire; but it was not within his power to give those races of different origin, language, and customs, interest and feelings in common—that is to say, one and the same desire to remain united in a single and great political family. There was material, but no moral unity. But material order is not security. In moral unity alone consists soundness and strength. When Charlemagne disappeared, all that which had coloured with a semblance of honour the subjection of the nations, blended together under the name of Franks, became effaced. Whilst the private ambition of the princes of the imperial family aided the dismemberment of the nations, those of the great proprietors and the imperial officers likewise favoured the division of fiefs.

Charlemagne himself had recognised the necessity of giving satisfaction to the nationalities the most deeply concerned, and he had made his three sons kings. Louis was set over the Aquitanians, Pepin over the Italians, Charles over the Germans. The two last-named died before their father, and that partition was annulled. Later, Charlemagne allotted Italy to Bernard, son of Pepin. It was the emperor's intention that those kings should only be his docile lieutenants; and so they were as long as he lived. But when the strong hand which grasped that sheaf of nations relaxed in death, it broke asunder of itself. The nations desired to have kings, but kings of independence. To repress such ambitious desires, an energetic will was required, and it was to one of the

feeblest of men that the ponderous inheritance of the powerful master of the West had fallen.

Louis, *le Debonnaire*, so named from his gentleness and good nature, was then thirty-six years old. He was pious and upright, but his piety was that of a monk, not of a king, and his justice easily degenerated into weakness or even cruelty. The people of France, however, joyfully hailed his accession; for Charlemagne had been so much engrossed with his foreign conquests that he had given very little attention to his French subjects, whom he rarely visited. It is indeed asserted that he not only disliked them, but also their country, and that he would not permit their language to be spoken in his court. On his way to take possession of his father's capital, Aix-la-Chapelle, Louis was everywhere received with acclamations, the people hoping that all the grievances and oppressions which they had undergone during the ambitious reign of Charlemagne would be redressed under the milder sway of his son.

Louis began by acts of reparation, which must have appeared to the old counsellors of Charlemagne an abandonment of the rights of the empire. He restored liberty and their possessions to a host of individuals who had been despoiled of both; he gave back to the Saxons and Frieslanders the right of heirship of which they had been deprived, and allowed the Romans to institute a new pope, in 816, without waiting for the imperial confirmation. When Stephen IV. afterwards came to France to consecrate him, he suffered that pontiff to pronounce those words which revealed the desire of the Holy Chair to appropriate to itself the right of disposing of the imperial crown. "St. Peter glorifies himself in making you this gift, because you assure him the enjoyment of his free rights."

In the following year he associated with himself in the empire his eldest son, Lothaire. His two younger sons, Pepin and Louis, he made kings of Aquitania and Bavaria. In 823, there was born to him of Judith, his second wife, a son, named Charles. That queen was desirous that her

son should also possess a kingdom, and the emperor, annulling, in 829, the partition of 817, gave him Germany; thus depriving his elder sons of a part of the inheritance previously assigned to them. This provoked the resentment of these princes; they rose in rebellion against their father, and the rest of the reign of Louis was nothing but a succession of impious contests with his turbulent sons. In 833, he deposed Pepin, and gave his kingdom of Aquitania to the son of Judith.

Twice deposed himself, and twice restored, Louis only emerged from the cloister, for which he was so well fitted, to repeat the same faults. In his blind predilection for his youngest-born, Charles, he was unmindful that the cause of all his misfortunes was the redistribution of the partition he had made between his other sons. Afterwards, Louis had Germany, while Burgundy, Provence, and Septimania were given to Charles. Pepin predeceased his father in 838, and the Emperor Louis died on the Rhine, near Mayence, in 840, in the sixty-third year of his age and twenty-ninth of his reign.

The middle ages, more regardful of the virtues of the man than the faults of the prince, have been full of indulgence for the memory of Louis *the Good-natured*.

Since the death of Charlemagne, the empire which he founded had heaved with agitation, like a heavy body in the throes of dissolution. Each prince struggled for the possession of a kingdom, and each great division of the empire was desirous of having a king in order to form a state by itself. The Austrasian Franks, who were only defending their own cause in sustaining that of the empire, were seconded by the Italians, who had adopted the new emperors as the legitimate heirs of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan. Lothaire, the eldest son of Louis *the Good-natured*, was their chief. He bore the title of emperor and wished to consider his brothers merely as lieutenants. Louis, now the second brother, sided with Charles, and their subjects at length, wearied with these perpetual divisions, met to decide the question solemnly by force of arms. They encountered Lothaire on 25th June 841, at Fon-

tanet, near Auxerre, where was fought one of the most sanguinary battles that ever desolated France.

Lothaire, beaten, fled at the head of his troops, whilst Louis and Charles deliberated upon what ought to be done further against the defeated enemy. Though the victory remained to Charles, his army was too much enfeebled to enable him to reap further advantage from it. Indeed, that fatal day so weakened the empire generally, that bands of Normans, like famished wolves, renewed their predatory attacks, and were allowed to ravage the coasts with impunity.

The battle of Fontanet having proved indecisive, the war continued. Louis and Charles met at Strasbourg to reinforce their union against Lothaire, and swear alliance before their soldiers, the one in the Teutonic or German tongue, the other in the Romance or French language. The Strasbourg oath is the earliest monument of the French language, formed by the combination, in very unequal quantities, of three idioms—Keltic, Latin, and Gallic, as spoken in Gaul; the Latin predominating greatly over the German, and the Keltic furnishing only a small number of words. That renewed alliance was celebrated by military fêtes, to which some writers have attributed the origin of tournaments.

It being evident, therefore, that Louis and Charles had firmly resolved to rend asunder the empire, Lothaire decided to treat with them. At length the three brothers agreed to terms of accommodation, and a treaty was concluded at Verdun (843), by which the dominions of their father were divided amongst them. The three principal peoples of the empire, the Germans, Gallo-Franks, and Italians were thus separated for ever; the first under Louis, the second under Charles, and the third under Lothaire. The name of emperor, a title without power, remaining attached to the possession of Rome and Italy; only, to render less unequal the portion of Lothaire, a long and narrow strip of territory was given him, which stretched from the Meuse to the Rhine, and from the Saone and Rhone to the Alps. (Belgium, Lotharingia,

or land of Lothaire, now called Lorraine, and part of Burgundy, Dauphiny, and Provence.) This treaty reduced Gaul by one-third, and removed from it, for the first time, its natural limit of the Rhine and the Alps. Nor could the efforts of Francis I., and Henry II., of Richelieu, and Louis XIV., of the Revolution, and Napoleon I., entirely nullify it. Charles (surnamed *the Bald*), who signed that fatal convention, was therefore, to speak correctly, the first king of later France, as Louis was first king of Germany; as for Lothaire, he continued the kingdom of Italy, which was destined so often to become extinct and revived. Thus was the dismemberment of the empire accomplished, and the unity of Christian Europe dissolved by the treaty of Verdun.

Charles *the Bald* (843-877).—Thus far has been related the history of the Gauls, the Gallo-Romans, and the Franks. Dating from the treaty of Verdun, the history of the French commences. France, in fact, had now received, with the exception of the Normans, who however had already shown themselves on the coast, but only settled thereon in very small numbers, all the races of which its population was formed, and all the Keltic, Roman, Christian, and Germanic elements, from the combination of which proceeded its civilization. The mixture is even already sufficiently advanced so as no longer to be able to distinguish the Gallo-Roman from the Frank, the civilised from the barbarian—all have the same manners and very nearly the same language. The French idiom had shown itself in the treaty of Verdun; the law ceases to become personal and becomes local; customs replace the Roman or barbaric codes; there are but few slaves and but few freed men; very soon no other than serfs and lords will be seen. The empire of Charlemagne is broken up into three kingdoms, and France in turn is about to break up into feudal principalities, some of which will even aspire to play the part of states completely independent, and the chiefs of the Basques and those of the Bretons will assume the title of kings.

The son of Judith and Louis *the Good-natured*, Charles

the Bald, King of France since 840, was nothing more than an ambitious vulgarian. During his reign of thirty-seven years he had ample time, like Charlemagne, given him, but he did not know how to utilise it. His embarrassments, it is true, were great. The same year in which war was waged for and against the empire at Fontanet, Asnar, Count of Jacca, assumed to himself the sovereignty of Navarre, and the Normans burnt Rouen; in 843 they pillaged Nantes, Saintes, and Bordeaux. At the same time, the Aquitanians rose in arms, demanding a national king; the Bretons had found theirs in Nomenot, whom Charles persuaded the bishops to excommunicate, but who defeated his lieutenants; whilst Septimania chose Bernard for its chief. The Saracens and Greek pirates ravaged the south, whilst the Normans devastated the north and west; at length, to crown the measure of evils which that century had to undergo, the Hungarians, successors of the Huns and the Avars, invaded the east.

The Normans.—Formidable pirates, the Normans were men whom hunger and thirst after pillage, and love of adventures, urged year by year from the sterile regions of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. In three days, an east wind brought their two-sailed rigged barque to the mouth of the Seine. Religious fanaticism mingling itself with warlike fanaticism, these pirates loved to shed the blood of priests, and littered down their horses in the churches. When they had ravaged a Christian land: “We have sung them,” said they, “our lance mass; it began at early dawn and lasted till midnight.” Charlemagne had only beheld those terrible invaders from afar; under Louis *the Good-natured* they grew bolder. Some few established themselves, in 836, in the Isle of Walcheren, and from thence issued to lay under contribution the shores of the Meuse and the Waal. From 843, they made their appearance annually. Sailing up from the mouths of the rivers, by the Scheldt, the Somme, the Seine, the Loire, and the Gironde, they penetrated to the very interior of the country. Numerous cities, even the most important, as Rouen and Orleans, were taken

and pillaged by them, without Charles being able to offer any defence. From the Rhine to the Adour, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Cevennes and the Vosges, all was pillage. They abandoned even their former custom of returning during winter to their own country. They fixed their abode in the Isle of Oyssel, above Rouen, at Noirmoutiers, at the mouth of the Loire; and even in the river itself, on the Isle of Bière, near St. Florent. It was there they deposited their booty, and thence they set forth upon new expeditions. In 845, the Normans sailed up the Seine to Paris, which they sacked, and even carried off the timber of which the houses were built. Charles tried, by a bribe of 7000 pounds weight of silver, to prevail upon them to withdraw. It was the surest means of inviting their return. The Roman empire had acted in the same way with the barbarians, and we know with what result.

The Normans were the greatest but not the only embarrassment of Charles *the Bald*: the Breton Nomenoë repulsed all his attacks, caused himself to be crowned king, and left that title to his son, Herispoë. The Aquitanians had elected for their chief the son of their last king, Pepin II., but he having disgusted his nobles by his intemperance and other vices, they delivered him into his uncle's power, who dispossessed him. Pepin allying himself with the Normans and Saracens, in order to pillage his former subjects, was taken prisoner and confined for life in a cloister.

The Emperor Lothaire, who was of a restless and capricious temper, and neither enjoyed peace nor suffered others to enjoy it, died in 855, leaving his dominions amongst his three sons. The eldest had Italy, the second Lotharingia, and the third Provence; but all died young, leaving no children, and Charles without difficulty shared Lorraine with his brother Louis the German, made himself master of Italy, and was crowned emperor by Pope John VIII. This prince, so feeble at home, was singularly ambitious of aggrandising himself abroad; a king, who could not wear securely his own crown, was enter-

prising enough to gain those of others. Notwithstanding the feebleness and disgrace of his reign, Charles *the Bald* succeeded in recovering, at least on one side, that France which the treaty of Verdun had mutilated. On his return out of Italy, in 877, he was seized with a sudden sickness, and died in a wretched hut at the foot of Mont Cenis, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by his Jewish physician, Sedecias.

Charles had four sons: Louis, Charles, Lothaire, and Carloman. The three last-named died young, and Louis, made King of Aquitain in 867, who succeeded his father, was a prince of very defective understanding.

Louis, surnamed *the Stammerer* (877-879), Louis III., and Carloman (879-884).—To conciliate the great nobles Louis II. relinquished to them a great portion of domains yet remaining to the crown — concessions which his two sons further multiplied. The uneventful reign of Louis *the Stammerer* lasted not quite two years. At his death in 879, Louis III., his eldest son, was crowned King of Neustria, and Carloman had Aquitania and Burgundy. The rest of the dominions of the late emperor were possessed by the sons of Louis the German. Though Louis and Carloman reigned together with perfect harmony, territorial disintegration still went on. Bozon, Count of Provence, who had married a daughter of Louis *the Stammerer*, seized on part of Burgundy, of which the brothers failed to dispossess him. He was crowned King of Provence by Pope John VIII., and proved a wise and politic king. The one half of Lorraine which Charles *the Bald* acquired in 870, was relinquished by his sons, and it reverted to Germany. Two victories over the Normans, however, threw a ray of glory upon the name of these princes; but those momentary advantages did not hinder fresh devastations. In 882, the celebrated pirate Hastings, abandoning the province of Chartres (which had been ceded to him by Charles *the Bald*), in search of fresh adventures, Carloman was compelled to purchase peace by the payment of another money tribute. “They promised peace,” says the chronicler sorrowfully,

"for so long as they should be paid one thousand pounds weight of silver annually." The two young kings died within a short time of each other, from the results of accidents; Louis in 882, Carloman two years later.

Charles *the Fat*, king and emperor (884-887). At Carloman's death, a posthumous brother, being only five years old, was considered as too young to succeed to the crown; it was therefore offered to a grandson of Louis *the Good-natured*, Charles, surnamed *the Fat*, then emperor and king of Germany. Thus all the inheritance of Charlemagne, with the exception of the newly-formed kingdoms of Aragon and Provence, became reunited in his hands.

Proud and cowardly, and rendered contemptible by his gluttony, Charles *the Fat* was so regardless of his French subjects that he did not come near them, but left them to defend themselves as well as they could against the Normans. He had already ceded Friesland to one of their chiefs. Another, the famous Rollo, a man of gigantic stature who always fought on foot, being unable to find any horse capable of carrying his weight, took Rouen, Pontoise, and slew the Duke of Mans. On the approach of his countrymen, the old pirate Hastings hastened to join them, and all together marched upon Paris, which they had already thrice pillaged. But Paris, which was then contained within the limits of the little island on the Seine, had been strongly fortified, and its inhabitants, encouraged by their bishop Gozlin and by their Count Eudes, son of Robert *the Strong*, withstood a year's siege. At length Charles, at the earnest instance of Eudes, appeared before Paris with an army. The Parisians, full of ardour, awaited the signal to begin the battle, when they learned, to their great disgust, that Charles, as his predecessors had done before, had bribed with a large sum of money the retreat of that foe which they had half conquered, and allowed him to winter in Burgundy; that is to say, to ravage that province. The Parisians, however, refused to have a hand in the disgraceful treaty, and when the barques of the Normans

sought to pass the bridges, they refused to let them pass. The pirates were therefore compelled to drag their flotilla a long way ashore to clear the heroic city (Nov. 886), whose courage Sens in its turn imitated, for it braved the Normans during six months. Paris had thus gloriously won her title to be the capital of France, and her brave defender, Count Eudes, was about to found the first national dynasty.

The contrast between the courage of that small city and the cowardice of the emperor, turned every one against the unworthy prince. He was deposed at the diet of Tribur (887), became insane, and would have wanted the necessaries of life had it not been for the compassion of Liutbart, bishop of Mayence. The unhappy Charles *the Fat* died in 888. From this period, Germany, Italy, and France have never had a common master. The Carlovingian empire was irrevocably dismembered; its relics served to form seven kingdoms: France, Navarre, Burgundy (*cis-Jurane*), Burgundy (*trans-Jurane*), Lorraine, Italy, and Germany.

Establishment of the Feudal System.—But it was not only the empire which was dismembered; so likewise were the kingdom and royalty. The inheritance of fiefs and benefices had covered France with a multitude of little sovereignties. To the king there only remained some few towns that he had not yet been constrained to give in fief. This disruption of the state continued even within the interior of the great fiefs. The dukes and counts were all alike as powerless as the king against the Normans and Saracens, and the populations whom their chiefs could no longer lead to combine in a common effort, formed by degrees the habit of depending upon themselves alone.

Feudal France—*The last Carlovingians and the Dukes of France* (887-987).—Three-quarters of a century only had elapsed since the vaults of his basilica at Aix-la-Chapelle had entombed the body of the famous founder of the West, and already neither empire nor emperor remained. Even royalty had signed at Kiersy its act of

abdication. The King of France had little more than a title. That title without power was, however, an object long coveted. The tenth century was occupied by the quarrel of two houses, who disputed for the paltry crown of the last descendants of Charlemagne; discords doubly fatal, for they favoured fresh invasions of the barbarians and the progress of feudalism.

Eudes, Duke of France (887-898).—After the deposition of Charles *the Fat*, Eudes, who had so well defended Paris against the Normans, was chosen king, and who, in recompense, had received from the emperor the duchy of France, or had been confirmed by him in the possession of that great fief. He was the son of that Robert *the Strong*, famous for his services against the same enemies and ancestor of all the Capetians. But his dominions only extended between the Loire and the Meuse. Beyond the Meuse reigned an illegitimate son of Carloman, brother of Charles *the Fat*—Arnulf, king of Germany, who in 895 made of Lorraine a kingdom for his son Zwentibold; and, to the south of the Loire, the duke of Aquitania, Ranulf, took the title of king. At the same time Provence was cut in halves: Burgundy *cis-Jurane*, under Louis, son of King Boson, and Burgundy *trans-Jurane*, under Rodolph, son of the Count d'Auxerre. Thus France had five kings. She was shortly to have a sixth in Charles *the Simple*, the posthumous son of Louis *the Stammerer*, the only legitimate one of the race of Charlemagne.

To the evils caused by the invading Normans, over whom, however, Eudes gained two victories, were now added those of civil war. The Count of Flanders refused obedience to Eudes; another noble, a relation of the king, seized upon Laon. Eudes retook the city, and to intimidate the factions, beheaded the rebel. He then found himself face to face with another and more serious war. The partisans of the Carlovingian dynasty put forward the son of *the Stammerer*, Charles, whose imbecility obtained for him the surname of *the Simple*, and had at first caused his claims to be set aside. In 893, however,

the Counts of Vermandois, Poitiers, and Auvergne, seeking only to consummate the ruin of royalty, and confirm themselves in their usurpations, took advantage of the absence of Eudes, on an expedition against the Duke of Aquitania, to crown the son of Louis *the Stammerer*.

As Charles *the Simple* was then only fourteen years old, his youth and incapacity made him unable to take any share in the government of his party; and though he was supported by some active and powerful nobles, who, however, only made use of his name in order to strengthen their own interests against Eudes, the country for the next few years was greatly harassed by the rival contentions. Around Eudes were ranged his numerous vassals of the duchy of France, and those who desired a national king, instead of that adventurous dynasty who were much less anxious to save France from the pagans, than of grasping one of the Carlovingian crowns. Eudes appeared before Rheims with such a force, that his competitor fled to seek the support of Arnulf of Germany. The latter, unmindful of his conventions with Eudes, commanded the counts and bishops of Lotharingia to re-establish in the paternal kingdom the claimant who was of his race. But the counts refused. Zwentibold, who had become their king in 895, embarked them in a war which turned out badly for himself. He was compelled to re-enter Lorraine, and Eudes terminated the quarrel by acceding several domains to his competitor. This brave and active prince was unhappily carried off by a premature death at the age of forty. His brother, Robert, inherited his duchy of France, and Charles *the Simple* succeeded him as king without opposition.

Charles the Simple (898-922)—Establishment of the Normans in France (912).—This prince is memorable for his misfortunes. In 911, after a complete blank in the history for several years, of which there are no records whatever, we meet with the first notice of the famous Rollo, a leader amongst the Normans, who appeared on the coasts of France, and threatened to desolate the whole country. In 912, Charles ceded to Rollo an extensive

territory between the Seine and the sea, stipulating that he and his followers should forbear to molest any other part of France. This province, which was a part of Neustria, took the name of Normandy, and which its new duke rendered flourishing by a wise administration. That treaty, signed at St. Clair-sur-Epte, was a happy convention, for it put an end to the devastating inroads which had lasted for more than a century. The new masters of the country mingled with the ancient inhabitants, and, in course of time, forgot their own language, lost their ferocity, but kept somewhat of that spirit of adventure, that love of conquest, which had urged them to make descents upon so many countries, and which led them later to land in Southern Italy, and afterwards in England. These men of the north (*Northmans*), are henceforth the Normans of France.

Charles *the Simple* had promised Rollo his daughter Giselle in marriage, on condition that he should renounce Odin. The new duke was baptised at Rouen, and his Normans followed his example. He partitioned the land amongst them by measurement, and established therein so good a police, that having forgotten, it is said, one of his bracelets that he had hung on the branch of a tree under which he had reposed during a hunting party, the bracelet remained there three years without anyone daring to touch it. Peace and order brought back culture throughout that rich province, which had been reduced to the condition of a desert by the ravages to which it had been so long exposed; slavery was speedily abolished, and, by a singular change, these Norman dukes were the first to speak the best French; and it was in Normandy that the feudal system was constituted with the greatest regularity, that the monastic schools were the most flourishing; and thence, at length, it would seem, sprung the new art which was about to raise such magnificent monuments of Gothic architecture throughout Europe. Rollo died in 932, and was succeeded by his son William Longue-Epée (*long sword*), a brave and politic prince.

To return, however, to Charles *the Simple*. In the year

912, when Charles lost a province, he gained a kingdom. The Lorrainers invited him to become their king; but his folly and indulgence towards unworthy favourites exasperated the nobles. In 920, they convened an assembly at Soissons, in which they declared that they would no longer obey the king, if, within the space of a year, he did not alter his conduct, and dismiss his minister, Haganon, a man of low birth who had obtained an undue influence over him. The warning was useless. The great nobles kept their word, and took back the crown they had given him. At the same time (922) Robert, brother of Eudes, was crowned Duke of France. In a rencontre, however, which took place in the year following between the two princes, near Soissons, Charles was beaten, but his rival was slain. The king gained nothing by the duke's death, as Raoul, Duke of Burgundy, Robert's kinsman, replaced him. Thus, whether dukes of France or Burgundy, we find them as chiefs of the centre of ancient Gaul struggling to retain the crown, and they succeeded in their object, notwithstanding the opposition of the nobles of the north and south.

Germany, more loyal to the blood of Charlemagne, furnished some aid to Charles *the Simple* against his new adversary, but he met with no better success. Taken prisoner through the treason of Herbert, Count de Vermandois, he was confined in the castle of Peronne, where in 929, Charles died, poisoned, as was supposed, by that traitor. Raoul reigned seven years, but with little renown, notwithstanding a twofold expedition into Aquitania and Provence, whence he brought back promises of fidelity, but nothing more.

Louis IV., surnamed *the Stranger* (d'Outre-Mer) (936-954).—On Charles *the Simple* being taken prisoner, his queen Elgiva, who was sister to Athelstan, King of England, fled to her brother's court, taking with her Louis, her only child, then a boy about nine years old. At the death of Raoul, who left no children, Hugh *the Fair* (le Blanc), his brother-in-law, Duke of France, unambitious of sovereignty, recalled from England the son of

Charles *the Simple*, Louis, surnamed *Outremer*, from his having resided abroad. Far superior, both in ability and courage, to any of his predecessors since Charlemagne, the activity and courage of this prince, wanting as he was in honesty and sincerity, proved but of little service either to himself or his country. He obtained the support of a few nobles jealous of the power of the Duke of France; but when he endeavoured to extend his dominions, by despoiling the sons of the Count de Vermandois, and later, the youthful heir of the Duke of Normandy, Hugh took up arms to arrest the flight of that unexpected ambition; and Louis, conquered and taken prisoner, was kept in captivity for an entire year. Hugh would not unclose the gates of his prison until after he had ceded the town of Laon, the only one which remained to the unfortunate king. Louis complained to the pope and to the King of Germany, and a council excommunicated the Duke of France. The latter braved every threat, even a formidable invasion led by the active and powerful Otho, emperor of Germany, who penetrated as far as the walls of Rouen (946). Louis was reduced to the humiliation of saying at the Council of Ingelheim, assembled by order of Otho, in 948: "If there be anyone who holds that my misfortunes have happened through my own fault, I am ready to accept the sentence of the Synod and of the monarch here present, or to repel the accusation by the judgment of God, in single combat." No champion presented himself on the part of the Duke of France. But that appeal to a foreign prince, of which Charles *the Simple* had given the example, sufficed to render national, at least in the north of France, the opposition made by the Capetian house to the last kings of the blood of Charlemagne. Louis IV. died in 954, in the thirty-third year of his age, from the effects of a fall from his horse, as he was spurring after a wolf which crossed his road in travelling between Laon and Rheims: thus suddenly terminating "a life full of anguish and tribulation." He left two sons, Lothaire and Charles.

Lothaire and Louis V. (954-987).—Hugh the Fair,

brother-in-law of Louis IV., being still unwilling to assume that crown of France of which he might easily have possessed himself, and as Charles was only a few months old, the undivided kingdom was conferred on Lothaire; and from this time the custom ceased of dividing the kingdom amongst the sons of the deceased monarch, and was never afterwards revived. Lothaire, who was only fourteen years old at the death of his father, remained for some years under the tutelage of his mother and her brother, St. Bruno. In 956, his uncle, Hugh *the Fair*, died, having as his contemporaries said, reigned many years, though without the title of king. In 973, the Emperor Otho the Great died, and was succeeded by his son, Otho II. The pretensions of this prince to restore the empire rallied round the King of France the great vassals of several countries, whose sole tactics then centred in hindering, whether in France or Germany, the return of the ancient imperial power which had compelled them to fall back from the path on which they had advanced in the way of usurpations from the time of Charlemagne. Lorraine stood in this predicament: Lothaire claimed a part of Lorraine in right of his mother, and the nobles of that country summoned him to oppose Otho. Without waiting to declare war, Lothaire marched directly to Aix-la-Chapelle, where the young emperor kept his court. Otho was taken so completely by surprise, that he was obliged to rise from table where he was sitting at dinner. He mounted a swift horse, and escaped out of one gate as Lothaire and his army entered at another. Lothaire stripped the palace of everything in it which was worth carrying off, and then returned to France. Otho, burning with resentment against Lothaire, set out for Paris, as he expressed it, "to return the visit," ravaging everything in his way.

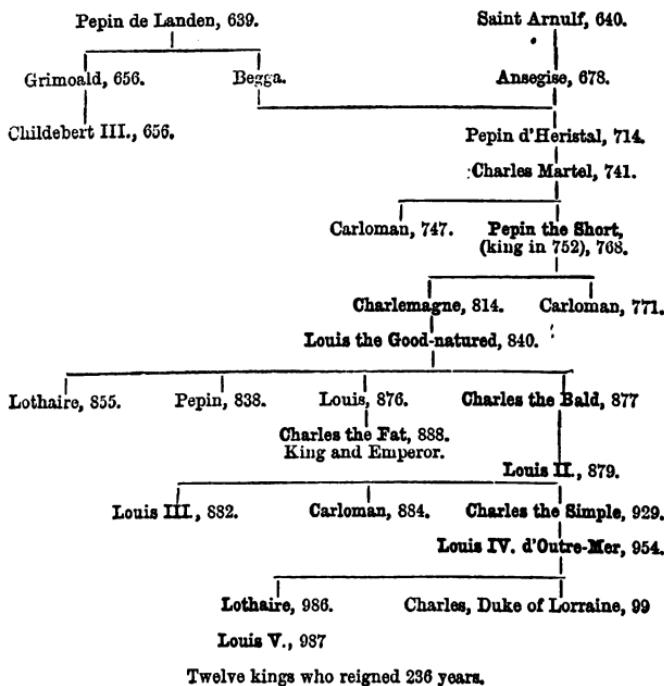
Hugh Capet, the son of Hugh *the Fair*, had put Paris in such a thorough state of defence, that Otho was unable to effect anything against it. He was compelled, therefore, to march back into Germany. But his retreat was

disastrous. He reached unopposed the river Aisne, which he crossed with a part of his army late at night. In the morning it was found that the water had risen so considerably that it was impossible for the second division to pass. In this situation it was attacked by Lothaire; and Otho, from the opposite shore, saw his men put to the rout without being able to give them any assistance. It was a great thing for Lothaire to have made head against so powerful a monarch, and some time after this a treaty of peace was made between the two cousins, and Otho consented to give up lower Lorraine or Brabant to Lothaire and his brother Charles. Lothaire died in 986. His son, Louis V., perished in the following year by a fall from his horse, having done nothing worthy of record. With him ended in France the race of the Carlovingians.

The last descendants of Charlemagne had shown more activity and courage than the last descendants of Clovis, and they deserved a less ignoble end. The cause of their impotence was the profound wretchedness into which they fell in consequence of the transmission of fiefs by inheritance. It has been seen that they were so far reduced as to possess only the little town of Laon. As they had nothing wherewith to pay for services, neither lands, for they had no domains; nor money, for they received no public taxes; nor functions, feudality having absorbed everything, they were by degrees left helpless. In their isolation they sought aid from without, they made friends of the foreigner. The invasions of the Germans in their favour ended by ruining their cause, and preparing the peaceful advent of a new dynasty, more French and more national,

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CARLOVINGIANS OR,
SECOND RACE OF KINGS.

(*The date following each name is that of the king's death.*)



THE FOUR FIRST CAPELIANS (987-1108).

HUGH CAPEL FOUNDS THE THIRD RACE (987-996).

Louis V. had an uncle, Charles the Carolingian, Duke of Lower Lorraine (Brabant, Liege, etc.), and who was, therefore, vassal of the King of Germany. But Hugh Capet, eldest son of Hugh *the Fair* and Duke of France, Count of Paris and Orleans, and moreover Abbot of St.

Martin de Tours, of St. Denis and of St. Germain des Prés; that is to say, disposing of the revenues and influence of three of the richest abbeys in France, decided at length to take that title of king which his father had disdained. The Duke of Burgundy, his brother, and the Duke of Normandy, his brother-in-law, having met together at Senlis, in conjunction with the principal nobles and bishops of France, excluded from the succession Charles of Lorraine, whose close alliance with the Germans caused him to be looked upon as a foreigner, and proclaimed Hugh Capet, who was consecrated at Noyon.

The title of king in the tenth century gave so little of real power, that this end of the Carlovingian dynasty, and this advent of a third royal race, caused very little sensation in the distant provinces. It was, however, a grave event. The king became at least, as Duke of France, Count of Paris, of Orleans, etc., the equal of the most powerful nobles. But all the great vassals of France did not make their appearance at the assembly of Senlis; the Counts of Flanders, Vermandois, Troyes, among the rest. They declared for Charles of Lorraine, but gave him scant support. Charles, overcome after a war which lasted two years and a half, was made prisoner, and confined in the tower of Orleans, where he died in the following year (992). Hugh now hoped that he should have undisturbed possession of the kingdom, but the restlessness and ambition of the nobles prevented him from enjoying tranquillity. Eight powerful states or principalities were all independent of the crown—Burgundy, Aquitania, Normandy, Gascony, Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse. Hugh Capet was less fortunate in Aquitania. He conquered, however, the Count of Poitiers, who did him homage, but that prince was again overcome by the Count of Perigord, Adelbert, who marched as far as the Loire to besiege Tours. Hugh commanded him to desist from that enterprise, and Adelbert not obeying, he despatched a messenger to him with this question: "Who made you a count?" "Who made you a king?" replied

the haughty noble; a question which Hugh could not easily answer.

Hugh Capet did not obstinately strive to obtain the submission of the intractable Aquitanians. He permitted them to accept as their king the son of his competitor Charles of Lorraine, or rather in fact to sign their charter in these words: *Deo regnante*, during the reign of God, awaiting a king. For that king, France had to wait for some two hundred years; until Philip Augustus, who at length restored to royalty a portion of the rights and power it had lost. During the first half of that period of two centuries, there were two kings, but they did not reign; they had a title, a dignity rather than a power. The three first successors of Hugh Capet occupied the throne 112 years (996-1108), without history having scarcely anything to record save their names.

Robert (996-1031).—Hugh Capet died in 996, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, having reigned nine years. Hugh resided principally in Paris, which from this time became the seat of government. Robert, who had been associated in the government during his father's life, began his reign amidst an universal terror. It was a belief long and widely spread, that the world, according to a passage in *Revelations*, would come to an end in the year 1000. Donations to the churches, therefore, multiplied, piety being increased by fear. Robert never lost throughout his life the impressions made during this gloomy period. He was a monk rather than a king; busily occupied with the distribution of alms and the services of the Church, he paid scant attention to setting the state in order. He sometimes fed as many as a thousand poor persons daily; and on Holy Thursday washed the feet of several, and served them on his knees. Those peaceful occupations were, however, disturbed by an excommunication launched against him by the pope for having married his cousin, Bertha. Notwithstanding his piety, Robert resisted at first the thunders of Rome. But the terror spread amongst the people by the pontifical sentence, which

placed the whole kingdom under an interdict, was so great, says a contemporary writer, that every one fled at the approach of the king. There only remained two poor slaves to perform any menial offices for Robert and his queen ; and they purified with fire every vessel touched by them. At last, Robert submitted, repudiated Bertha, who retired into a convent, and then he married Constance of Provence. This imperious princess, whose habits were totally different from his own, and whom the king soon found cause to dread, was daughter of the Count of Toulouse. She delighted in revels and amusements, and loved to be always surrounded by the minstrels and troubadours, who enlivened with their songs all the courts and castles of the south. But these Aquitanians, by their effeminacy, luxury, and loose manners, singularly shocked the northern French, and ample proof is furnished by contemporary writers of the antipathy of the two races. This fact should be remembered, when the crusade against the Albigenses is touched upon; these old prejudices of the northern French against those of the south serving to explain the atrocious character of that war.

At a distance, the title king of France had great but illusive weight. When, at the accession of Conrad I., the Italians were desirous of getting rid of the German domination, they offered the crown of their country to Robert. At the same time the nobles of Lorraine proposed to recognise him as their sovereign. Robert, terrified at the prospect of so much honour, gave a hasty refusal to both parties. But that refusal, doubtless, was only the just sentiment of his weakness. That king, however, acquired the duchy of Burgundy after a war of five years (1016), and bestowed the title of duke upon his eldest son. The royal house then found itself possessed of two of the largest fiefs, the duchies of France and Burgundy. Unfortunately, Henry, who succeeded his father as king, was unable to retain the latter. *Robert the Pious* died of a fever at Melun (1031), as he was returning from a pilgrimage to some of the principal

sanctuaries of France, in the sixtieth year of his age, and thirty-fourth of his reign.

Henry I.(1031-1060)—Foundation of the first Capetian house of Burgundy.—“We have seen,” says a contemporary, the “sluggishness of King Robert, we are now about to see that of his son, the petty King Henry, the inheritor of the paternal weakness.” Save, in fact, some few expeditions into Normandy, for the most part disastrous, Henry I. achieved nothing. When his mother endeavoured to excite a revolt against him for the purpose of placing her youngest son upon the throne, he hastened to claim the assistance of Robert, Duke of Normandy. Robert immediately marched to Paris, and compelled Constance and her partisans to sue for peace. Constance retired into a convent, and soon afterwards died. Henry satisfied his brother’s ambition by bestowing on him Burgundy; and rewarded the services duke Robert had rendered him by annexing to Normandy, Pontoise, Gisors, and some other places.

The most remarkable act of this reign was the king’s marriage with the daughter of the grand duke of Muscovy. Henry had taken a princess of a house thus remote, then almost unknown in France, in order that he might be sure of not finding in her a kinswoman within the degrees prohibited by the church. Anne, it is said, was descended through her mother, daughter of the Emperor Romanus II., from Philip of Macedon. Her first-born bore the name of the father of Alexander the Great. Henry died in 1060, leaving three sons by Anne of Muscovy.

The Dukes of Normandy.—If at this period royalty did nothing, the same cannot be said of its great feudatories. Three especially then occupied France with the noise of their ambition and of their wars. Robert, surnamed *the Magnificent* by his nobles, and *the Devil* by the people, had usurped the ducal crown of Normandy by poisoning his brother Richard III., with his principal barons, at a banquet at Falaise. By dint of energy and courage he crushed all resistance which his crime had

provoked, and incontestable master of Normandy, intervened between all his neighbours in their disputes. He supported King Henry against his brother, and in return was rewarded with the Vexin. He was desirous of hurling from the throne of England Canute *the Great*, in favour of the sons of Ethelred, his cousins; but a storm having driven his fleet from the English shores to those of Brittany, he invaded that country, and compelled the duke Alain to do him homage (1033). In 1035, being seized with remorse for his many crimes, and especially for that of the fatal banquet at Falaise, he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the hope of relieving his conscience. He died on his return in Asia Minor. On the Seine, near Rouen, in one of the finest sites of Normandy, may still be seen a hill crowned with some shapeless ruins. These are the remains of the castle of Robert *the Devil*, which, according to its legends, were long haunted by evil spirits; and not far thence was it that John Lackland of England is said to have stabbed to death his nephew Arthur.

The son and successor of Robert was the celebrated William *the Bastard*, afterwards our William *the Conqueror*, who had great difficulty in obtaining the obedience of his vassals. When the news of Robert's death reached Normandy, his brothers Mauger and Henry tried to set aside the claims of young William; but these were so well defended by Alain, duke of Brittany, and so heartily espoused by the King of France, that the battle of Val des Dunes, fought near Caen (1046), rid him at length of all his adversaries. King Henry, who had there fought for him, when he saw the ambition and enterprising disposition of the young duke, repented of the part he had taken in his favour, and joined with Mauger and his other enemies. This was the cause of numerous contests between the Normans and the French (inhabitants of the *Ile-de-France*), the latter habitually supported by the Bretons and Angevins.

To lessen the evils caused by the continual wars of

the nobles with each other, the church proposed a pact and forced its adoption upon several princes, which was thus conceived:—"From Wednesday evening to Monday morning of each week, or on any festivals of the church, and during Advent or Lent, all fighting to cease." This league was called "God's Truce" (*la trêve de Dieu*). Its operation lasted some fifty years, and obtained throughout all Christian countries, proving highly beneficial and reflecting great honour on the ecclesiastics and nobles who promoted and enforced it.

Philip I. (1060-1108).—Philip was only seven years old at the death of his father, who died in 1060, but King Henry had taken care to have him consecrated at Rheims during his lifetime, and appointed Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, to be his guardian. That crown of the first Capetians was however of so little account, that even upon the head of a child it inspired no one with the desire of seizing it. The reign of Philip I. would have been still less important than that of his father, had the nation been as inactive and somnolent as its head. That prince saw a few gentlemen of Coutances subdue southern Italy and Sicily, a Capetian of the house of Burgundy found the kingdom of Portugal, the duke of Normandy, William *the Bastard*, effect the conquest of England, and, finally, all the chivalry of France rush upon a crusade. He allowed those great things to be accomplished without taking any share in them. At length, however, prompted by jealousy against his too powerful vassal, the Duke of Normandy, he manifested towards him, if not a very dangerous enmity, at least a determined ill will. He supported the Bretons against him, and compelled the duke to raise the siege of Dol (1075); he aided his eldest son Robert, who had revolted, and thereby drew upon himself a serious war. The Conqueror entered Philip's dominions, putting all to fire and sword. Mantes was taken and burnt; even the churches, in which many persons perished by the flames; and his scouts burned the villages up to the very gates of Paris. Happily for Philip, an accident which befell William at Mantes rid

France of further devastation, for the great warrior went back to Rouen only to die (1087).

Philip continued the same policy under the successor of the Conqueror, but with the same sluggishness. He still supported Robert, duke of Normandy, against William Rufus, who had usurped his elder brother's crown of England, and sold his defection to the latter. He thoroughly well understood the danger to which France was exposed with a King of England, master through Normandy of the approaches to Paris; but had not the courage to make the necessary effort to withstand him. Philip's marriage with Bertrade, wife of the Duke of Anjou, exposed him to another danger—excommunication, with which the church, the guardian of the moral law, assailed him; but during ten years he took no heed of it. Under this indolent prince, however, the domains of the Vexin, Gatinais, and the province of Bourges accrued to the French crown. Under the Capetians the national assemblies which Charlemagne had so often constituted, even those convocations of the great nobles and bishops that were still held so frequently in the tenth century, fell into desuetude by the progress of feudalism and the ruin of the regal power. They did not reappear until the fourteenth century, when the monarch had decidedly prevailed over the nobility.

FRANCE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.—THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

In the sixth century we find three societies in Gaul, the Gallo-Romans, the barbarians, and the clergy; there are still three in the eleventh, the nobles, the clergy, and the serfs, each having its peculiar manners, organization, and, to a certain degree, its language and literature: the two first, rich, powerful, and active; the last, oppressed and miserable. The eleventh century was a period of the most ardent faith among the Christian nations. The terror which the approach of the year 1000, when it was believed that the world would come to an end, had just

ably, the nobles were preparing a second army, and at length, in the autumn of 1096, set out to the number, it is said, of 100,000 knights and 600,000 foot soldiers, by different routes and under different leaders. After suffering terribly in the solitudes of Asia Minor and the Taurus, and especially during a seven months' siege of Antioch, where they were decimated by the plague, they arrived with a remnant of their host (scarcely 50,000 strong) within sight of Jerusalem. They laid siege to the Holy City, which they took (July 14th, 1099). The standard of the cross was planted on the walls, and Godfrey de Bouillon was proclaimed King of Jerusalem.

Ere long, wearied with their long sufferings, the greater part of the crusaders returned home, leaving only some 300 knights with Godfrey and Tancred. On their arrival in France they were reproached by their countrymen with having abandoned their brave leader begirt with dangers. Some of them resolved to return to Palestine, and a new expedition was fitted out under the command of William of Poitiers, duke of Aquitaine; but the fate of this army was more unfortunate than that of the former one. The crusaders were led into situations which exposed them to the attack of the Turks, and they were defeated with terrible slaughter. Their leaders and several of the nobles saved their lives by flight; but the fervour of Europe was chilled when it saw so few return from such gigantic expeditions, and fifty years elapsed before a new crusade was undertaken to succour the Christians in Palestine.

This great movement, which continued for more than a century and a-half, and which dragged into its vortex every population of Europe, had first emanated from France. The French, in fact, carried on almost alone the first crusade. They shared the second (1147) with the Germans, the third (1190) with the English, the fourth (1203) with the Venetians. The fifth (1217) and the sixth (1228) were without importance. The seventh (1248) and the eighth (1270) were exclusively French. At the present day even, in the East, all Christians, of

whatsoever language, have only one appellation, that of Franks.

At the same time that all these stirring scenes were passing in the East, in France the king was sunk in sloth and sensuality, and appeared scarcely to know that a Crusade was going on. Philip had frequently been excommunicated by the pope for having married Bertrade, whose first husband, Fulk of Anjou, was still alive. He contrived, however, to pacify the indignant pope, by making promises to repudiate her; but these promises he never performed. His lethargic life was terminated in 1108, when he died, in the fifty-seventh year of his age and fiftieth of his reign. Under Philip I., the French monarchy had reached its lowest state of debasement, and its sway did not at this time extend over more than a territory of between thirty and forty square leagues, of which Paris was the capital city, and Orleans the next in importance. Dating from the accession of his son, Louis VI., the sovereignty began to rise, and it will be seen to increase in power and dominion in every succeeding century.

Louis VI., surnamed *the Fat (le Gros)*.—“It is the duty of kings,” said Suger,* “to repress with powerful hand, and by the inherent right of their office, the audacity of the great, who rend the State by their ceaseless wars, impoverish the poor, and rob the churches.” Louis VI. was exactly the king whom Suger desired. Always on horseback, lance in hand, he was continually waging petty wars against the marauding nobles who rifled travellers or pillaged churches. Louis, who had been associated with the crown at the age of eighteen or twenty, had endeavoured, during his father’s lifetime, to repress these disorders, but found it a very difficult task, for no sooner was one subdued than another rose up in its place. As soon, however, as he felt himself firmly seated on the throne, he set himself resolutely to punish such offenders, and thereby succeeded in establishing

* The Abbé Suger, chief counsellor to Louis *the Fat*, and afterwards to his son, Louis VII.

some degree of order and security in his narrow domains of the Isle of France. But he did not limit his exertions to that territory. "Unceasingly the king was seen," says Suger, "marching at the head of a few knights to establish order as far even as the frontiers of Berry, Auvergne, and Burgundy, in order that it might plainly appear that the efficacy of the royal virtue was not confined within the limits of certain places." These efforts of Louis to protect the weak and discipline feudal society were recompensed. In his war against Henry I. of England, the communal militia came to range itself round his oriflamme; and on the report of an inroad, projected by the emperor of Germany, a numerous army of burghers and vassals held themselves ready to defend him.

In the struggle with Henry I., it was the object of Louis to secure Normandy to William Cliton, nephew of the English king: a skilful project, the success of which would have removed a danger ever menacing the crown of France, so long as England was united to the Norman duchy. But Louis was defeated at the battle of Brenneville (1119), which terminated to the advantage of the English. This check, however, was not attended by disastrous consequences, because the English king, fighting against his suzerain, dared not carry the war to extremities, for fear that such an example of rebellion of vassal against lord-paramount might encourage his own vassals to act in the same way against himself. But the scheme of Louis VI. was rendered abortive, for William did not obtain Normandy.

A few days after the battle of Brenneville, the catastrophe of the *White Ship*, in which the sons of Henry of England perished, proved as fatal to France as to England. Henry was left with an only daughter, Matilda, whom he declared his legitimate successor. She was the widow of the emperor Henry V. In 1127, she espoused in second marriage Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou. Until then the French kings could rely on the support of Anjou against Normandy. The marriage of Matilda put an end to that policy, and carried as far as the Loire the Anglo-

Norman dominion. Matilda's son, Henry II. of England, as husband of Eleanore of Guyenne, carried it as far as the Pyrenees.

In 1127, Louis bestowed on William, the young prince of Normandy, the earldom of Flanders, to which, indeed, he had a claim in right of his grandmother, Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror; but he died shortly afterwards in consequence of a neglected wound, while yet in the flower of his age. In 1132, Louis, having had the misfortune to lose his eldest son, Philip, who was killed by a fall from his horse, crowned his next son, Louis, then only twelve years old. It was upon this occasion that the peers of France were reduced in number and limited to twelve.

By the death of Henry of England, in 1135, Louis was delivered from his most formidable enemy; and Stephen, who seized on England and Normandy, was too much occupied in defending himself against Matilda and her husband Geoffrey to have time to turn his attention towards France.

In 1134, it became evident to Louis that his constitution was fast breaking down; and, after languishing for three years in an alarming illness resulting from his excessive corpulence, Louis *the Fat* died (August 1, 1137) in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign, sincerely lamented by all classes of his subjects.

During his petty wars with the nobles, Louis discovered that the strength of his government lay amongst the merchants and townspeople, whose interests, therefore, he protected from the tyranny of their immediate feudal superiors, by granting the towns many valuable charters and immunities. The citizens gladly availing themselves of the king's favourable inclination towards them, procured charters for forming themselves into *communes*, or associations for mutual defence. These *communes* elected from amongst themselves a chief magistrate, whose function it was to watch over the safety of the rest; who, on their part, were bound to assist him in time of danger. The formation of these *communes* was vigorously opposed by the nobles, whose capricious and often cruel sway was

thereby greatly curbed, and in course of time deputies were admitted from them into the general assemblies of the nation, which previously could only be attended by nobles and prelates.

Louis VII., surnamed *le Jeune* (1137-1180).—Louis, the eldest surviving son of Louis *the Fat*, had contracted, in his father's lifetime, a brilliant marriage. He had espoused Eleanore of Guyenne, heiress of Poitou, and of the duchy of Aquitain. It had become, in fact, established that women could inherit fiefs, receive homage, oaths, and lead their vassals to war. That law, which during 330 years the royal family of France had no need to apply, and which it rejected when the direct line of Hugh Capet became extinct, was one of the most active causes of the ruin of feudal families which war pitilessly decimated. Female heiresses brought by marriage fiefs from one house into another, until they came, for the most part, into that of the royal line of France, which was permanent, whilst others became extinct. This time, the dowry of Eleanore was by far the richest which any of the French kings had received. It was nothing less than the half of southern France. Unfortunately, Louis VII. did not keep it.

Louis was only eighteen years of age at his accession. In the early part of his reign the young king chiefly occupied himself with chivalrous amusements, leaving the care of State affairs to Suger. He was amiable and devout, but unfortunately his piety was alloyed by superstitious observances, and he was more like a monk upon the throne than an active and resolute king. He continued the policy of his father, however, and still supported the communal movement, twenty-five charters bearing his name. Several churches having implored his protection, "He covered them with the buckler of his protection," says Suger, "and wielded the rod of chastisement in their defence." A count of Chalons, a sire de Montjoi, and others, were stripped of their fiefs on account of their violence. A war against Thibaud, count of Champagne, had another cause, and was of more consequence. The pope had nominated

his own nephew to the archbishopric of Bourges, without heeding the royal right of presentation. Louis drove the new prelate out of the diocese, to whom the Count of Champagne gave an asylum. The king had another ground of anger against this noble. In an attempt which he had made to lay his hand on Toulouse, the Count had refused his services. Louis *le Jeune*, seizing the opportunity to humiliate this disobedient vassal, made armed entrance into his territories, ravaging them and burning the little town of Vitry. Thirteen hundred persons who had taken refuge in the church perished in the flames. The king, who heard the shrieks of the dying wretches, and saw their half-consumed bodies, was struck with so much horror that he gave up the war and made peace with Thibaud.

This was an occurrence only too common in those times; but it weighed upon the king's conscience, and, in order to expiate it, Louis resolved "to take the cross." His father had owed his success in part to the circumstance that the wealthiest nobles had exhausted all their resources to reach Jerusalem, and that many of them had never returned therefrom. Accounts came from Palestine that the Turks had taken Edessa—a town situate to the north of the Euphrates, and held under the new kingdom of Jerusalem—and had massacred all the Christians there. Noureddin threatened, indeed, all Palestine. Notwithstanding the prudent counsels of the Abbé Suger, Louis determined to place himself at the head of a second crusade to the Holy Land. The crusade was preached in France and in Germany by Saint Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, but already the public zeal had grown cooler. A general tax, levied throughout the kingdom, and upon persons of all ranks—nobles, priests, and peasants—caused loud murmurs. At Sens, the townsmen killed the Abbé of St. Pierre-le-Vif, lord of a part of their city, on account of a tax which he sought to raise. "The king," says a contemporary, "set forth on his march in the midst of imprecations." The command of the expedition had been offered to Saint Bernard, but he remembered Peter the Hermit

and refused. Eleanore, as well as Louis, "took the cross," and all were to be in readiness to depart for Palestine in the spring of 1147.

The Feast of Pentecost was the day fixed for the departure of the army; and on the eve of that day the oriflamme, or sacred standard, was presented to Louis with great solemnity by the Abbot of St. Denis. The next day the king and queen set out by way of Metz and Germany for Constantinople. Conrad and his Germans were already in Asia Minor; but, misled by their Greek guides, they lost their way in the defiles of the Taurus, and were cut to pieces by the Turks; Conrad and his nephew Barbarossa, with a few followers, escaping by the superior swiftness of their horses. Louis, warned of the danger, took the longer but safer way by the sea coast, and his army was encouraged by a victory over the Turks on the Maeander; but beyond Laodicea they entered on narrow defiles, where, through the incapacity of the commanders, they marched in two separate bodies. The Turks fell upon the rear, made a terrible slaughter, and the king having fought for a long time alone—all the nobles of his escort having been slain—escaped with the greatest difficulty, with the loss of his baggage and provisions.

At Satalia, a small seaport, about three days' sail from Antioch, it was thought impossible to proceed further by land. The king and his nobles, therefore, embarked in the few Greek vessels available, to finish their pilgrimage by sea, abandoning the rest of the army a prey to fatigue, hunger, and the swords of the Turks. All perished miserably, with the exception of three thousand, who, renouncing their faith for that of Mahomet, by that means escaped death.

Arrived at Antioch, Louis no longer thought of fighting, but of accomplishing his pilgrim's vow, to offer up his prayers at the holy sepulchre, and to terminate as soon as possible that unlucky enterprise. Without listening to entreaties of the Counts of Antioch and Tripoli, to undertake some enterprise against the Turks, he hurried forward on the march to Jerusalem. His vow accomplished,

there was nothing now to detain him in the Holy Land, but he lingered one year there, as though unwilling to return to France without once drawing his sword in Palestine. He therefore encamped before Damascus, but dissensions amongst his nobles caused him to raise the siege; and Europe again saw but very few of those return who had set out on this second rash expedition. The first crusade had at least attained its object, it had delivered Jerusalem; the second had uselessly shed Christian blood. After it, Palestine found itself weaker, Islamism stronger, and the Crusaders derived nothing from it but shame and dishonour.

Louis, on his return to France in October, 1149, found his territories in peaceful condition, thanks to the able administration of Suger; but his subjects bitterly reproached him as the destroyer of the flower of the French chivalry. This reflection, as just as it was grievous, together with the disagreement which had arisen between him and his consort during the crusade, rendered him morose. At length, in 1152, they were divorced, and Eleanore carried her Duchy of Guyenne, and all the rest of the vast dowry Louis had received with her, to Henry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, Duke of Normandy, and heir to the English crown, whom she married very soon afterwards. When two years later, Henry, by the death of King Stephen, had entered into possession of his heritage, and had added thereto Brittany by the marriage of one of his sons with the only daughter of the count of that country, he found himself master of almost the whole of western France.

The King of France might well tremble for his crown, superior as he soon found Henry both in territorial power and mental qualities, and the records of the next twenty years are occupied with little else than a series of wars between these rival monarchs. Louis, moreover, found a means of defending himself by taking part in the continued rebellions of Henry's four sons against their father; and there was another ally whom the vehemence of the King of England gave him in the saint, Thomas à Becket,

assassinated by four of Henry's courtiers. The dead prelate proved more formidable than he had ever been whilst alive. Louis called upon the pope to avenge the martyr's death. To prevent an excommunication, Henry consented to all the humiliations imposed upon him, and passed the rest of his days in fighting against his subjects, his sons, and the King of France.

In 1179, Louis, while languishing in a painful state between life and death under an attack of palsy, had his son, Philip Augustus, crowned with extraordinary splendour, and, shortly afterwards, finding himself on his deathbed, he caused his money, clothes, and jewels to be brought to him, and distributed them with his own hands amongst the poor. He died, 18th September 1180, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign. He had been married three times: *First*, to Eleanore of Guyenne; *second*, to Constance of Castile; *third*, to Alice of Champagne, by whom he had Philip, who succeeded him. In early life, Louis had shown a certain degree of courage and animation, which served to conceal the deficiencies of his understanding; and, notwithstanding his many errors and weaknesses, he was greatly beloved by his subjects. The order which he strove to maintain throughout his dominions was favourable to the progress of the urban populations. During his reign the number of the *communes* was increased, and freedom continued to advance by gradual steps. Under him, says a contemporary, a great number of towns were built, and many old ones enlarged. Forests were cut down and large spaces cleared. He confirmed the ancient privileges of the *hanse*, or society of merchants of Paris; and Pope Alexander III. laid, in 1163, the first stone of the cathedral of that city (*Notre Dame*). On the occasion of the coronation of his son and successor, Louis attached the privilege of consecration to the cathedral of Rheims, and the peers took their seats at the ceremony. The *peers of France* were the possessors of the great seignories held directly from the crown, and their number was limited by Louis VII. to twelve.

FIFTH PERIOD.

THE FIRST VICTORY OF ROYALTY OVER THE FEUDAL ARISTOCRACY.

Philip Augustus (1180-1223)—Character of the Period.—From the ninth to the twelfth century, there was always a king on the throne of France, but there was no royalty; the public powers, which ought to have remained in his hands, having become territorial powers exercised by all the great proprietors. It was a kind of confederation of princes governed by a feudal chief. To that revolution, which had broken during three centuries the unity of the country, succeeded another which strove to reunite the scattered members of French society, and to deprive the nobles of the rights they had usurped, in order to restore them to royalty, so far as to make the king the sole judge, the sole administrator, and sole legislator of the realm. That revolution began with Philip Augustus and St. Louis, who reconstituted a central government, and was only accomplished under Louis XIV., because divers incidents, the hundred years' war in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the religious wars of the sixteenth especially, suspended that great interior work.

Philip II., surnamed Augustus, from having been born in the month of August, ascended the throne in the fifteenth year of his age. His relations and vassals thought that they could treat him like a child, but he quickly undeceived them by his activity and resolution. His chief adviser had been the Count of Flanders, but, as soon as he became his own master, he cast off his control, as he had already done that of his own relations.

He early showed a determination to rule alone, had great confidence in his own powers, and ere long made himself an absolute monarch. The result of the wars which he had to sustain was the acquisition, in 1185, of the counties of Amiens, Vermandois, and Valois. Artois, which had fallen to him, in 1191, through the inheritance of his wife, carried as far as the frontiers of Flanders the immediate domain of the crown. The Duke of Burgundy, the sire de Beaujeu, the Count of Chalons, who pillaged the churches, were constrained to respect them. He drove away the Jews, by depriving them of their lands and houses (1182), and caused a number of heretics to be burnt at the stake.

The Third Crusade.—Philip, like his father, undertook a crusade, with the object of rescuing Jerusalem, which had again fallen (1187) into the hands of the infidels. Eight kings, all Frenchmen, had reigned there since Godfrey de Bouillon. The last, Guy de Lusignan, had just been made prisoner by Saladin at the battle of Tiberias. Christianity made a powerful effort; Richard Cœur de Lion, King of England, and Philip Augustus set out together. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa had preceded them. It was determined to pass the winter at Messina, and this arrangement proved fatal to the expedition. Philip and Richard had hitherto been great friends, but, during that period of inaction in Sicily, heart-burnings arose between them which turned their friendship into mortal hatred. Their mutual animosities broke out during the two years' siege of Acre, and Philip, eclipsed by his brilliant rival at the taking of that town, hastened, on the plea of ill health, to return to France, there to work the ruin of the too powerful King of England. He entered into a compact with the brother whom Richard had left behind, John Lackland, who was aspiring to the throne, and both hoped to share the spoils. Philip lost no time in attacking Normandy, and in exciting John to seize upon England. But both these attempts failed; for Richard, having escaped from the prison into which, contrary to all good faith, the Emperor of Germany had

flung him, hastened to take revenge on both brother and rival. The former purchased his pardon by putting to the sword a French garrison he had introduced into his castle; the latter accepted the alternative of making war. It broke out with violence in Normandy. Richard defeated Philip, near Gisors, without, however, deriving great results from his victory. Pope Innocent III. interposed and made them sign a truce of five years (January, 1199). Two months afterwards, Richard was killed by being wounded in the shoulder by an arrow at the siege of Chalus in the Limousin.

On John Lackland succeeding his brother, Cœur de Lion, Philip immediately became the enemy of his old ally by taking up the cause of young Arthur of Brittany, son of an elder brother of Lackland; and when John had stabbed his nephew with his own hand, Philip, as suzerain, cited the murderer to appear in Paris before the twelve peers of France. Upon his refusal, he confiscated his fiefs, marched an army into Normandy, which John did not defend, and took Chateau Gaillard, the bulwark of that duchy, built by Richard, after a six months' resistance. Pope Innocent III. wished to impose a peace upon the two kings, but Philip was gaining too much by this war against a cowardly enemy not to resist it. He sent the pontiff a haughty reply, and rapidly following up his success, seized upon all the towns of the province, even upon Rouen, "the very rich city, full of the nobles and all the chief men of Normandy." Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, were also easily reunited to the royal domain. These were the most brilliant conquests a king of France had ever made (1203-1204). John was the last of eleven dukes who had governed Normandy during a period of 293 years. Jersey and Guernsey, and some other small islands, are all that is left of that ancient dukedom in the possession of the English crown.

The Fourth Crusade (1202-1204).—Since the bad success of the third crusade, Jerusalem had been forgotten; and, instead of those pious expeditions, nothing was seen throughout Christendom but wars waged between kings

and peoples. England, Germany, and France, formerly united for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre, were now armed one against the other. Otho IV. was excommunicated, Philip Augustus had been, John was threatened. All these excommunicated monarchs thought little about the Holy Land. The great pope, Innocent III., wished them to remember it, and caused a crusade to be preached, promising remission of sins to those who should serve God for a year. Foulques, curate of Neuilly-sur-Marne, was the preacher of it. He was present at a tournament in Champagne, and his fiery eloquence so stirred the princes and knights who attended it that they "took the cross." On this occasion the kings held themselves aloof, and the people also. It was resolved to go by sea, and the Venetians agreed to find vessels and money on condition that the crusaders should aid them in taking Zara, in Dalmatia. The Venetians persuaded their allies that the keys of Jerusalem were in Cairo or Constantinople. There was some truth in that assertion, but there was more especially a commercial interest. The possession of Cairo would give the merchants of Venice the route to India, that of Constantinople would secure to them the commerce of the Black Sea and the Archipelago. Constantinople was decided on, whither a young Greek prince, Alexis, offered to conduct them, on condition that they should re-establish on the throne his father Isaac, who had been deposed by his brother, Alexis III., and had his eyes put out. On the 18th July 1203, the city was carried by assault, and the old emperor, released from his dungeon, restored to the throne. Alexis had made the crusaders the most brilliant promises, and to keep them, he created new imposts, which so exasperated the people that they strangled the emperor, elected another, named Murtzupple, and closed the gates of the city. The crusaders attacked it immediately. Three days sufficed for its capture (March, 1204); and this time they put it to the sack, and a whole quarter, a league square in extent, was reduced to ashes.

Constantinople taken, the conquerors divided the

empire. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was elected emperor. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, was made King of Macedonia; Villehardouin, Marshal of Romania, and his nephew, Prince of Achaia. Venice had a quarter of the city, with all the islands and ports of the empire. It was a new France which had carried its feudal customs to the extremity of Europe. But those crusaders were not sufficiently numerous to long retain their conquest. In 1261, the Latin empire crumbled to pieces. However, until the end of the middle ages and the conquests of the Turks, there subsisted, in certain parts of Greece, the relics of those feudal principalities so strangely established by the French of the thirteenth century upon the classic soil of Miltiades and Leonidas.

The crusade against the Albigenses, so called from Alby, a city in Languedoc (1208), was more directly profitable than that of Constantinople. The south of France had long been separated from the north. It had another language, different manners and customs. Commerce had brought prosperity amongst the citizens, luxury amongst the nobles; and both classes, the one and the other united without jealousy or hatred in municipal offices, secured peace to the country. But in those rich cities, and in those brilliant courts, enlivened by the songs of the troubadours, religious doctrines were as lightly regarded as were morals. Heresy, as it was then called, everywhere existed. Pope Innocent III. organised the Inquisition against it, a tribunal charged to seek out and try heretics by the use of torture: a tribunal which immolated innumerable human victims without succeeding in the extirpation of heresy, because the stake is the worst means of obtaining the triumph of truth.

The Inquisition, however, having failed, the pope caused a crusade to be preached. The knights of the north, rude and barbarous compared with those of the south, seizing the occasion of avenging themselves of a hateful superiority, enrolled themselves in crowds, in the hope of pillaging the rich cities of which they had heard so many marvels. The war was carried on with the most

savage ferocity under the direction of Simon de Montfort, who, in 1214, had the sovereignty conferred on him of all the country conquered from the Albigenses. At Beziers, 15,000 persons were put to the sword, and elsewhere in the same proportion. The powerful Raymond, Count of Toulouse, and his nephew, the Viscount of Beziers, were dispossessed (1209); and the King of Aragon, who had come to their aid, was slain at the battle of Muret (1213). The civilization of the south, stifled by those rude hands, perished, and the “gay science,” as the troubadours termed their poetry, was hushed amidst such sanguinary scenes. After the death of De Montfort, killed before Toulouse, in 1218, the war subsided for a time, though it was often renewed at different periods.

Expedition against England (1216).—After the battle of Bouvines (near Tournay), John Lackland, on re-entering his island dominions, defeated and humiliated, found the barons in open insurrection. All England was in arms; whilst nobles and citizens, clergy and laity, giving to feudal Europe the great example of their union, forced their king to sign the Great Charter of English liberties (1215). John had recourse to Pope Innocent III., who, by his authority, declared the Great Charter null and void, and released the king from his oaths. John thereupon commenced a war against the barons, who summoned to their aid the son of Philip Augustus, Louis, nephew to John by his wife, Blanche of Castile. Innocent III. threatened Philip Augustus with excommunication, and that monarch, not choosing to get into any dispute with the pope, affected to be displeased with his son for acceding to the wishes of the English nobles. Louis, notwithstanding, continued his enterprise, and landed in England (30th May 1216), the inhabitants of London receiving him with great appearance of cordiality. The pope's ban would not have hindered the French prince from claiming the throne of England had not the death of John in the following October totally changed the aspect of affairs. The latter left as his successor a child, Henry III. The barons, comprehending that the boy-

king was much more useful to their cause than a foreign prince little disposed doubtless to respect, after victory, their privileges, and who would be in case of need aided by the forces of France, deserted Louis, and swore allegiance to the youthful Henry. As a last effort, Louis marched his army into the north, but on 19th May 1217, it was defeated in a bloody battle at Lincoln, after which he was constrained to return to France.

Under Philip Augustus, Paris was embellished, paved and encircled by a wall flanked with 500 towers, pierced with 13 gates, and defended by a ditch. The city was provided with markets, and watched over with a better police; the construction of Notre Dame was actively carried on; the Louvre commenced; the University of Paris constituted with great privileges, and the archives founded. He was the first King of France who maintained a standing army.

Thus Philip Augustus had gloriously accomplished his reign of forty-three years: doubling the royal domains by the acquisition of Vermandois, Amienois, Artois, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, and part of Auvergne. He attacked feudalism in one of its most dangerous privileges, the right of waging private war, by the establishment of "the king's quarantine." He confirmed the authority of the court of peers by a memorable example, the condemnation of John of England. In fine, royalty appeared once more as a legislative power, and its ordinances reassumed the character of generality for the entire state, which they had not possessed since the last capitularies of Charles *the Simple*; such are the results which have merited for Philip Augustus the gratitude of posterity. He died at Mantes, 14th July 1223, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. By his first wife, Isabella of Hainault, he had only one child, Louis, who succeeded him. By Ingeberge of Denmark, who survived him, he had no children.

Louis VIII., surnamed *the Lion* (1223-1226).—Louis VIII. had been for an instant, in his father's lifetime,

proclaimed king in London, by the revolted English barons, and had fought twice against the Albigenses. Become King of France, he continued to prosecute those two wars. From the English he conquered that part which Philip Augustus had not taken of Poitou, with l'Aunis, la Rochelle, Limoges, and Perigueux. Together with Avignon, the country, from the Rhone to within four leagues of Toulouse, submitted to him. Thus all the south, except Guienne and Toulouse, recognised the royal authority; the work of territorial unity had so far advanced that France was no longer divided into two equal parts. Only Gascony and Bordeaux now remained to the English of all their former great possessions in France, and these would have probably fallen to Louis had not the war against the Albigenses been urged upon him by the exhortations of Pope Honorius III.

Louis the Lion died in Auvergne, on his return from that expedition, of a fever, caught during the siege of Avignon (October, 1226). He had only reached his thirty-ninth year, and had reigned little more than three years.

Saint Louis (1226-1270)—Regency of Blanche of Castile (1226-1236).—For upwards of a century, the sword of royalty, which was that of France, had been valiantly wielded; but the son of Louis the Lion was a boy only eleven years old. A coalition of great vassals was immediately formed to take advantage of his minority. The majority of them were greatly offended that a woman, and more particularly a Spanish woman, should presume to reign over them, and they conspired against her authority. Happily the regent, Blanche of Castile, the queen-mother, possessed strength and vigour of mind, and was both skilful and courageous. She won over one of the confederates, Thibaud, the powerful Count of Champagne; and then saved him with the royal army from the attacks of his old allies. In gratitude for this service, she obtained from Thibaud, become by inheritance King of Navarre, the important provinces of Blois, Chartres, Sancerre. A treaty signed in 1229, secured to the king's

elder brother the reversion of the county of Toulouse; and a marriage, arranged between a second brother of Saint Louis and the heiress of Provence, prepared for another epoch the reunion of that country with France. Already the royal seneschals were established at Beaucaire and Carcassonne, so that the king became master by himself or by his brothers of a great part of the south of France. The majority of Saint Louis was proclaimed in 1236; but the wise regent maintained the greatest influence over her son's mind, and over the direction of the government.

Saint Louis was the true hero of the middle ages, a prince as pious as he was brave; who loved feudalism, and yet dealt it the most sensible blows; who venerated the church, and yet knew on fitting occasions how to resist its head; who respected all rights, but followed above all justice. Frank and gentle, with a heart full of benevolence and Christian charity, and who yet condemned the sinner's body to the torture for the salvation of his soul; who on earth looked only towards heaven, and who made his office of king a magistracy of order and equity. Rome has canonised him, and the French people see him still sitting under the oak at Vincennes dispensing justice to all comers. That saint, that man of peace, did more in the simplicity of his heart for the progress of royalty than the most subtle counsellors or ten warlike monarchs, because the king after him appeared to the people as the incarnation of order and justice.

The Sixth Crusade.—The great pontificate of Innocent III. had restored new energy to the church and the religious sentiment. The spirit of the crusades, which had become extinct during the rivalry of Philip Augustus with Richard Coeur de Lion and John Lackland, was again revived. In 1235, the Holy War began again to be preached in France, and, as too frequently, before setting out for Jerusalem, the expedition was inaugurated by the massacre of those whose forefathers had nailed the Divine victim upon the cross at Golgotha. There was a

slaughter of the Jews everywhere; and the council of Tours was compelled to take those unfortunate people under its protection. Still less mercy was shown towards heretics. Thibaud, Count of Champagne, burned on one single occasion 183 upon Mont Aimé, near Vertus. After all, this crusade, of which Thibaud himself and the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany were the chief leaders, failed of success. The crusaders were defeated at Gaza, in Palestine, and those who came back could only boast of the honour of having broken a few lances in the Holy Land.

Previous to his war with the English, there are few actions to record of Saint Louis; but, in 1241, the Emperor Frederick II. having forcibly detained certain French prelates who had gone to Rome to attend a council, Saint Louis demanded so firmly that they should be set at liberty, that the emperor at once released his prisoners. Shortly before, Louis had refused to receive, either for himself or for one of his brothers, the imperial crown of Frederick II., which the pope offered him. He had equally refused the pontiff's request to modify a royal ordinance of 1234, which restrained the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical tribunals; a necessary measure, for those courts had come at length to try many more civil causes than the lay tribunals.

The man who spoke so firmly, acted equally so, when he was forced to take up arms. Attacked by the English, in 1242, who favoured the revolt of certain of his barons, Saint Louis defeated them at Taillebourg and at Saintes. Probably he might eventually have driven them out of France, but he refused to follow up his victory. The acquisitions made during half a century had tripled the extent of the royal domain; but they seemed to him sullied by violence. By a scruple of conscience, he ceded to the King of England, in virtue of a treaty which was only signed in 1259, on his return from the crusade, the duchy of Guyenne and Gascony, under homage to his crown. In order to prevent perjury, he compelled the nobles who held fiefs from the two crowns

to choose between the two sovereigns. The limits of his prerogative being equally uncertain in the south, he fixed them by a treaty with the King of Aragon, and the county of Barcelona ceased to be held from the French crown.

In 1245, Pope Innocent IV., driven out of Italy by the Emperor Frederick II., sought refuge in Lyons, and there held the thirteenth Ecumenical Council, at which 140 bishops were present. The pope therein solemnly deposed the emperor, and exhorted the Christian princes to march to the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre. The Christians in Palestine had been crushed during the preceding year by the Turks in the battle of Gaza, and Jerusalem had anew fallen into the hands of the infidels. Saint Louis did not wait for the appeal from the council to "take the cross." During an illness which brought him to the brink of the grave, in 1244, he made a vow that if he recovered he would go the Holy Land. His mother and his counsellors vainly strove to dissuade him from such a rash resolution. But it was not until four years after he had taken the cross, that, having set all his affairs in proper order, and appointed his mother regent during his absence, he embarked in August, 1248, at Aigues-Mortes, a Mediterranean port, with part of his forces, taking with him his consort, Margaret of Provence, and his three brothers, the Counts of Artois, of Provence, and of Anjou.

During two years Saint Louis had collected great stores of provisions in Cyprus, where he remained till the following June, waiting the arrival of the rest of his troops. The army, amounting to above 50,000 men, set sail thence in 1800 vessels, great and small, for Egypt. Damietta, on one of the mouths of the Nile, was taken possession of (7th June 1249), but precious time was lost before marching upon Cairo. A delay of five months and a half served to revive the courage of the Mamelukes. The crusaders lost another month in traversing some fifteen leagues, entangled amongst the canals with which the country was intersected. An unskilful attack

upon the town of Mansourah cost the lives of many knights, the Count of Artois also being slain who led them (Feb., 1250). The army was soon surrounded by enemies on all sides, cut off from procuring provisions, and decimated by the plague. The Turks attacked the camp, and although the king was so ill that he could scarcely mount on horseback, he rode amongst the ranks until he fainted, and was thus taken prisoner. The defeat of the whole army followed, and all who were not slain were made prisoners. Saint Louis, after a captivity of two months, was liberated on payment of a heavy ransom, and passed into Palestine, where he remained during three years, employing his zeal and ascendancy in maintaining concord between the Christians, and his resources in strengthening the fortifications of places which they still occupied.

The tidings of his mother's death (the regent Blanche) recalled Louis at length to France, from which he had been absent about six years (2nd July 1254), and where he was received with every demonstration of joy.

The good king's reputation for justice was so well established, that the English barons in arms against Henry III. accepted Louis as arbiter of their differences. He blamed both sides—the barons for not treating their sovereign with more respect, and Henry for not observing the terms of the Great Charter. Neither party followed this temperate advice, and civil war raged as fiercely as before. When, however, Henry's brave and politic son had at length succeeded in restoring peace to England, his warlike spirit hating inactivity, urged him to join Saint Louis in another crusade.

Louis, who had returned from the East wearing the cross on his shoulder, in token that it was his intention to go again to Palestine, never lost sight of that solemn vow. Early, therefore, in July 1270, having a fleet and all things in readiness, he again embarked at Aigues-Mortes, accompanied by his three eldest sons, by his brother Alfonso, his nephew Robert of Artois, Thibaud, King of Navarre, Guy, Earl of Flanders, and many other dis-

tinguished persons. Prince Edward of England and Charles of Anjou were to follow, with a numerous army from Sicily.

Before proceeding to the Holy Land it was determined to attack Tunis, and the Crusaders anchored off the shore of ancient Carthage. Carthage was soon taken, and the French encamped under the walls of Tunis. In a few weeks, the plague having broken out in the camp, the king perished with the greater part of his army. When on the brink of death, Saint Louis sent for his eldest son, and gave him an earnest exhortation to govern his people with justice and equity, and to make the fear of God the rule of all his actions. "Fair son," he added, "I pray that thou wilt make thyself beloved by the people of thy kingdom, for of a truth I would much rather that a Scotsman would come out of Scotland and govern the nation well and loyally, than that thou shouldst govern it badly." He then desired to be lifted from his bed, and laid amongst ashes on the floor of his tent. He expired with these words on his lips: "I will enter thy house; I will worship in thy sanctuary."

At the very moment of the king's death, Charles of Anjou landed from his fleet and sounded his trumpet. Surprised that no answer reached him from the camp, he mounted a horse and galloped to the royal tent, where the first object he saw was his brother's corpse extended upon the ashes. Charles of Anjou had the flesh of his brother's body separated from the bones. The bones were conveyed by Philip, his successor, to France; the flesh being retained by Charles, who, when he returned to Sicily, had it interred in the abbey of Montereale, near Palermo.

Saint Louis died, 25th August 1270, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and forty-fourth of his reign. By his queen, Margaret of Provence, he had four sons and four daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Philip. His fourth son, Robert, married Beatrice of Burgundy, whose mother was heiress of the lords of Bourbon. Robert took the title of Bourbon, and it was by descent from him

that, three hundred years afterwards, Henry IV. claimed and obtained the crown of France.

Philip III. (*le Hardi*), and Philip IV. (*le Bel*), 1270-1314.—The reign of the eldest son of Saint Louis is but little known, notwithstanding its duration of fifteen years. Its commencement was marked by events of a melancholy character. It began under the walls of Tunis, where he lay so totally incapacitated by illness that he was obliged to give up the command of the army for a time to his uncle, Charles of Anjou. Having regained his health, and imposed a treaty upon the Saracens that the French should be indemnified for all the expense they had been at—a tribute paid to Charles by Tunis, and all Christian slaves set free—Philip raised the siege and embarked for Europe at the close of the year 1270, landing in Sicily. There his first wife, Isabella of Aragon, died, through a fall from her horse; and soon afterwards Thibaud, king of Navarre, was carried off by the plague,—the same disorder also causing the death of Alphonso, the king's uncle, and of his wife, the Countess of Provence. Philip returned to France in the following spring, taking with him the remains of his father and queen, whose obsequies were attended with great solemnity in the abbey of St. Denis.

Philip, on his accession, was twenty-five years old, and though inferior to his father in mental capacity, he resembled him in many respects, being pious, liberal, and just. Under the reign of this prince we may still follow the ascending march of royalty, which, without new wars, but by the extinction of divers feudal races, reunited to his dominions Valois, Poitou, and the counties of Toulouse and Venaissin. But Philip III. gave up the last-named fief and one half of Avignon to the pope. The Count of Foix, defeated and made prisoner in his own capital, was forced to promise faithful obedience and to give up a portion of his territories. The sway of the French king thus approached the Pyrenees; it even went beyond them. Henry *the Fat*, king of Navarre, died in 1274, leaving an infant daughter; the kings of Castile and

Aragon each tried to obtain the young heiress for one of their own sons; but her mother fled with her to France, and placed her under the protection of Philip III., and, in 1284, she married Philip, the king's then eldest son, who assumed the title of King of Navarre.

Pedro III. of Aragon, who had married the daughter of Manfred, King of Sicily, claimed that crown in her right, and formed a conspiracy to drive out Charles of Anjou from the island and place Pedro on the throne. This conspiracy led eventually to the horrible design of a general massacre of the French. The chief agent in the plot was John of Procida, lord of the small island so named, in the Gulf of Naples. It was conducted with the utmost secrecy, and Easter Eve, 1282, being the day fixed for its execution, the vesper-bell was to be the signal to begin the slaughter. In the space of two hours there was not a Frenchman left alive in Palermo; and in the other towns of Sicily the slaughter was so ruthlessly carried out that 8000 Frenchmen are said to have perished in this massacre, known as the *Sicilian Vespers*.

Charles, who was absent from Sicily, on hearing of these atrocities, hastened to Messina, and laid siege to it. The city, however, was defended with such desperate bravery that Charles found himself compelled to retire to Calabria, and there recruit his forces.

Pedro, in the meanwhile, under pretence that he was going on a crusade, had borrowed money from Philip III., wherewith to equip a fleet and army; and landing at Palermo, in August, 1282, was proclaimed king. The pope and the king of France were now highly incensed against Pedro, and the former, to mark his sense of the latter's treachery and unknightly conduct, degraded him from his kingly dignities, and bestowed Aragon on Charles of Valois, Philip's second son. Pedro collected a numerous fleet, and appeared before Naples, which Charles *the Lame* governed in his father's absence. The young prince, rashly engaging Pedro's admiral with unequal forces, was taken prisoner and carried to Messina. This event caused Charles such agitation of mind as

threw him into a fever, of which he died (12th Jan. 1285).

Philip now set out for Spain, with the intention of securing the crown of Aragon to his son Charles. Pedro, however, who laughed at the pope's anathemas, marched to meet the French army, and was killed in an ambuscade. Philip was at first somewhat successful in this war, but becoming broken by sickness and greatly disheartened by the loss of a fleet bringing provisions for his army, he determined to give up further attempts on Aragon, and quitted Catalonia. On his return home he could get no farther than Perpignan, where he died (6th Oct. 1285), in his forty-first year, and sixteenth of his reign. How he acquired the name of *the Bold* is not at all clear, for none of his actions would justify the surname. It is, however, only just to add that in spite of certain defects of character, his people were happy and prosperous, and French historians esteem him as one amongst their very few good kings. The first instance of a plebeian being ennobled by a French king is to be found in the letters patent of nobility granted by Philip III. to his silversmith, Raoul, in 1272.

Philip IV. (1285-1314).—Philip IV., surnamed *the Fair*, was only seventeen years old when he succeeded his father (1285). He disengaged himself as soon as possible, by treaties, of useless wars; and, instead of conquests, occupied himself with aggrandizing his dominions by acquisitions within his reach. His marriage with the heiress of Navarre and Champagne had already brought him two great provinces. A sentence of the Parliament, which stripped the heirs of Hugh de Lusignan, further secured to him Marche and Angoumois. Moreover, his second son married the heiress of Franche-Comté. Thus, by marriages, failure of lawful heirs or conquest, all France was by degrees swept within the royal dominions. But powerful vassals still remained: the Duke of Brittany, the Count of Flanders, and especially the Duke of Guyenne. Philip first attacked the latter. He was a formidable adversary, since at the same time he was King

of England. Fortunately Edward I., who had just conquered the Welsh, and threatened the independence of Scotland, was too much occupied with his island affairs to pass over to the Continent. Thus the royal army was able to make rapid progress in Guyenne; a French fleet even pillaged Dover; and another army, led by the king in person, entered Flanders, the earl of which had declared himself the ally of the King of England, and defeated the Flemings at Furnes (1297). The intervention of Pope Boniface VIII. brought about a peace between the two monarchs, which was sealed by two marriages. Edward I. married Margaret, the French king's sister; and a daughter of Philip *the Fair*, Isabella, espoused (1299) the son of Edward I. (afterwards Edward III.), and carried into the house of Plantagenet rights to the crown of France, which Edward III., it will shortly be seen, knew how to turn to account.

By this peace, the two kings set free their allies: Philip the Scots, Edward the Earl of Flanders. That earl, through fear, proceeded to swear fealty to Philip, and Flanders was united to the French dominions (1300).

All the French court went to visit the new conquest, and was received with great pomp. The Flemings, to do honour to their noble visitors, put on their finest clothes, and displayed all their wealth. The entry into Bruges was especially magnificent. The citizens' wives exhibited such a profusion of gold and jewels in their costumes that the womanish vanity of the queen was wounded. "I thought," she said, "that there was only one queen in France, but I have seen six hundred." Flanders, in fact, was the richest country of Europe, because it was that one which was the most industrious. Upon that plentiful soil the population had sprung up like its harvests; the towns were numerous, the people active, industrious, and well-affectioned towards England, whence she obtained the wool necessary for her manufactures; as the towns of Guyenne, especially Bordeaux, were, because England bought their wines. The cloths of Flanders were sold throughout Christendom, even at

Constantinople; and the towns of the Low Countries were the markets in which provisions from the north, from the shores of the Baltic, were exchanged for those from the south, coming from Venice and Italy, by the Rhine.

In a country intersected by a thousand canals, amongst so many well-fortified cities, and still more by a population accustomed to labour and fatigue, but also proud of its numbers, its strength, its wealth, chivalry had not much chance or favour, so that there was very little feudalism in Flanders. All these towns had their privileges, and it was not prudent to assail them.

Philip appointed Jacques de Chatillon governor of Flanders, who thought that he had no reason to spare the conquered, especially as they were so rich. The Flemings intolerant of such tyranny, and accustomed to more prudence on the part of their earls, rose up in arms and made a general massacre of the French. In Bruges alone 3000 Frenchmen were slain. Philip despatched Robert d'Artois with a numerous army to avenge that injury. The Flemings were destitute of military skill and of experienced officers. However, 20,000 of them bravely awaited the onset of the French chivalry, near Courtray, posted behind a canal. Before the action began, the Flemings confessed their sins, and, after hearing a solemn mass, all stooping down took some earth in their hands and carried it to their mouths. So doing, they swore to fight to the death for the freedom of their country. Their assailants advanced in a disorderly manner, confident of victory, and not deigning to believe that those base shopkeepers dare look them in the face. In vain did the constable Raoul de Nesle recommend prudence. He was asked whether he was afraid. "Sire," was his reply to Count Robert, "if you follow me, you will be well in front." So saying, he spurred his horse to its utmost speed. The French had not even taken the precaution to reconnoitre the position of the Flemings. The first ranks of the heavy column of knights, launched from the main point of the attack, rushed into the canal which covered the enemy's line. Those who kept ahead,

urged forward by those who followed, were hurled one upon another, and the Flemings had only to thrust their long lances into that confused mass of men and horses to slay them easily and without danger. A sortie which they made from both ends of the canal completed the rout. 200 noblemen of high lineage and 6000 men-at-arms perished; and what was still more sad, the Duke of Burgundy, together with the Counts Saint Paul and de Clermont and 2000 men in mail, had fled, leaving the constable, the Count d'Artois, and a crowd of noble warriors, overthrown, unentrenched, and slain by base-born hands. The Flemings collected 4000 gilt spurs, of the kind only worn by nobles and knights, and hung them up in the church at Courtray as a trophy of their victory (9th June 1302).

During the crusades, the battle of Massoura had already shown the undisciplined impetuosity and military unskilfulness of the knights; but that was fought in the East, and distance had veiled the disgrace of the vanquished. The battle of Courtray, lost by the flower of the French chivalry against an army of churls, created a profound sensation, without, however, curing the nobles of their foolish presumption. The defeats of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, it will be seen, were due to the same causes; and, stripped by royalty of its privileges, the feudal nobility will lose, upon the field of battle, the prestige which had so long surrounded it, and will see, in order to achieve its fall, arise beside it another army, that of the king and people.

Philip *the Fair* took energetic measures to repair the disaster of Courtray, and in two months he raised 10,000 men-at-arms and 60,000 foot soldiers. It was a great effort on the part of royalty; and on the other side it was greater still, for the Flemish towns sent forth this time 80,000 combatants. With such armies on both sides, the struggle promised to be terrible and decisive. It was felt to be so, and, unwilling to run any risk, the year 1302 passed in mutual observation. The quarrel between Philip and Boniface VIII. was then at its height; another defeat

might prove fatal to him. He even allowed the Flemings in the following year (1303) to take the offensive; but the pope having died in that year, Philip attacked Flanders by land and sea (1304). His fleet defeated near Zirickzee that of the Flemings, and he himself avenged at Mons-en-Puelle the disaster of Courtray. He thought that he had effectually overcome them; but a few days afterwards they returned in the same strength to renew the fight, demanding peace or instant battle. "Why, then, it rains Flemings!" exclaimed the king; and he concluded that it was better to treat with than fight them again. Philip, therefore, granted them a peace—one of the conditions of which was that their earl should be restored to them, whom with his two sons Philip had kept in prison since 1299; Earl Guy merely promising feudal homage. Thus French royalty gave way before Flemish democracy, as did German royalty almost at the same epoch before the Helvetic democracy. The communes of France having remained isolated, succumbed. In Flanders and Switzerland they were united, and triumphed.

An angry war of words had arisen between Philip and Boniface VIII. as early as 1295, when that pontiff commanded Philip to make peace with the King of England, on pain of excommunication. Philip replied that it was the function of the pope to exhort and not to command, and that he would allow no one to dictate to him in the government of his kingdom. Concord, however, appeared to be established between them in the year following, and Boniface sealed his reconciliation by pronouncing the canonization of Saint Louis; but the quarrel burst forth again through the haughty intervention of the pontiff on the subject of the imposts laid by the king on the churches of France. The reproaches of the pontiff touching the mal-administration of Philip were well founded; but neither the king nor the pope had then a clear idea of the limits of the temporal authority of the former, and of the spiritual authority of the latter. In this state of obstinate ignorance, not content with thwarting and injuring each other, they descended to personal abuse. The pope called Philip

a fool, and the king retorted by accusing the pope of heresy, immorality, and even of magic. At last Philip threatened to cite Boniface before a general council, and the pope on his side prepared a bull pronouncing the deposition of the king. The latter anticipated it. He despatched an agent, William de Nogaret, whose grandfather had been burnt in the crusade against the Albigenses to Italy, to bring Boniface by force before the council at Lyons. He allied himself with Sciarra Colonna, a noble Roman and mortal enemy of the pope. Boniface was then at his native town of Anagnia, in the Abruzzi. Nogaret, having bribed the commander of the troops at Anagnia, entered that town at the head of 400 men-at-arms and a few hundred foot soldiers. At the noise they made, shouting "Death to the pope! Long live the king of France!" Boniface thought his last hour was come. But recovering himself, notwithstanding his advanced age (he was eighty-six), with surprising energy, he clad himself in his pontifical garments, seated himself on his throne wearing the tiara, and holding the crosier in one hand and the keys of St. Peter in the other, he thus awaited the assassins. Nogaret summoned him to abdicate. "Behold my neck, behold my head," he exclaimed; "betrayed like Jesus Christ; if I must die like him, I will at least die pope." Whereupon Colonna dragged him from his throne, and struck him a violent blow on the face with his steel gauntlet, which instantly covered him with blood, and would have killed him, had not Nogaret prevented it. The latter, hesitating to drag the old man out of Anagnia, gave time to the townspeople to recover from their stupor. They rose and rescued him, and drove Nogaret and Colonna out of the place.

Boniface, in dread lest poison should be mixed with his food, having fasted for three days, died from shame and rage at the affronts to which he had been subjected, having, in the paroxysms of his frenzy, gnawed off his fingers. His successor, Benedict XI., wished to avenge him by excommunicating Nogaret, Colonna, and all those who had aided them. The excommunication included even the king. A

month after the publication of the bull, Benedict died, probably from poison. This time, Philip took measures to make himself master of the election of the new pope. Bertrand de Goth, archbishop of Bordeaux, was chosen, when he had promised the king to comply with his desires. The new pope, who took the name of Clement V., was consecrated at Lyons, and abandoning Rome, transferred the papal chair to Avignon (1308), where his successors remained until 1375. This sojourn of the popes at Avignon, which shook the church to its foundations, was termed "The captivity of Babylon."

Villani relates a sinister interview between the pope and the king as taking place in the forest of St. Jean-d'Angely, near Avignon, where one sold the tiara, and the other bought it. That interview never occurred, but the conditions were certainly made and accepted. One of them was nothing less than the destruction of the military Order of the Templars. The riches of these military monks, now useless, since they no longer expended them in armaments against the infidels, had tempted the avidity of the king, always in want of money, and their power overshadowed his despotism. Partly on this account, and partly for the sake of getting possession of their riches, Philip had marked them for destruction. They mustered 15,000 knights, with an infinite multitude of brethren affiliated and servants, that is to say, that assembled together they could defy all the royal armies of Europe. They possessed in Christendom more than 10,000 manors, numerous fortresses — amongst others that of the temple at Paris, wherein Philip had found a safe asylum during an insurrection which had raged in vain around its massive walls. The treasury of the Order contained 150,000 golden florins, without counting silver or precious vases. A powerful organization, which kept the knights friendly under the despotic control of the Grand Master, rendered that body yet more formidable than its valour and its riches. Nothing was known as to what passed in their houses. Everything therein was kept secret; no profane eye had ever penetrated their

mysteries. But vague rumour spoke of orgies, scandals, impieties. Some of the knights had disappeared, because, it was said, they had threatened to make compromising revelations. Their pride irritated the populace, and odious crimes were imputed to them. They were, at most, culpable in a great relaxation of morals, and their religious ceremonies had probably caught from the East some impure alloy and fantastic customs.

Under pretence of holding a conference with the Templars on the subject of a new crusade, Philip summoned the Order to appear at Paris in October, 1307. The knights taken by surprise had no time to resist or concert together. The grand-master, De Molai, was then in Cyprus; but he and sixty of his knights obeyed the summons. As soon as they arrived they were arrested, and torture wrung from them avowal of crimes of which they were innocent. Philip, anxious to associate the nation in this great trial, as he had associated it in his differences with Boniface III., assembled the States-General at Tours. The accusations and avowals were produced before them; and the deputies pronounced the knights worthy of death. The pope dissolved their Order, and fifty-four of the knights who had retracted what they had confessed during their torments, were burnt alive in the Faubourg St. Antoine at Paris. Nine also were burnt at Senlis. De Molai and three of his chief officers were flung into prison, and, after a detention of some years, apparently forgotten in their dungeons, underwent a mock trial. De Molai, who could not read, was made to affix his seal to a confession of crimes; but when he and his companions were placed on a scaffold in front of Notre Dame to hear their confessions and their sentence read, the grand-master exclaimed, with a loud voice, that their confessions were false, and had been extorted from them whilst under the torture. On this the king flew into a violent rage, and ordered them to be put to death by a slow fire, their place of execution being the recess on the Pont-Neuf, where the statue of Henry IV. now stands. The Templars underwent the agonies of their lingering death

with incredible constancy (1st March 1314). Their large possessions were nominally transferred to the Order of Hospitalers (knights of Rhodes); but the royal treasury did not readily relax its grasp of what it held. All the money found in the Temple, two-thirds of the movable effects and active debts, with a considerable number of their domains, remained in the hands of the king. In Italy, England, Spain, and Germany, the Order was suppressed, and its possessions in part confiscated by the princes; but in no country were the Templars treated with so much cruelty as in France.

The latter years of this reign were more gloomy than those of its commencement. Even in the bosom of the royal family itself sanguinary tragedies were enacted. Philip's three sons' wives, accused of scandalous misconduct, were arrested and placed in strict seclusion. One of them, Margaret of Burgundy, wife of Louis, was imprisoned in Chateau Gaillard and there strangled. Blanche, the wife of Charles, died from despair; the third, Jeanne, wife of Philip, the least guilty of the three, was restored to her husband and family after a year's confinement. Their accomplices, Philippe and Gaultier d'Aulnay, were flayed alive on the Place de Grève, and many others, noble and ignoble, were tortured, sewn up in sacks, and flung into the Seine.

The government of Philip became every year more and more oppressive, and the public irritation betrayed itself in murmurs, and murmurs led to executions. The general oppression very nearly caused an insurrection, when Philip had established a new tax upon the sale of every kind of merchandise. Symptoms of a compact between the nobles and citizens became manifest, like the league which, in England, proved the foundation of her liberties, and forced from John Lackland the Great Charter. Philip, this once, gave way. He abandoned the tax, summoned to Paris the deputies of forty good towns to confer with him, and promised for the future never to debase the coinage.

The preceding considerations apply not only to the reign of Philip *the Fair*, but affect the entire fourteenth

century. All its kings were coiners of base money, because they all had continual need of money, and knew of no other means of finding it. But that did not excuse their fraud, exactions, or violence. To escape from a difficulty by practising dishonesty is not good government; and, notwithstanding the explanation given, the memory of Philip IV. cannot thereby justly escape from its evil repute.

But now that sinister man, the hardest and harshest-ruling king which France had hitherto had, although he had only attained the age of forty-six, was about to terminate suddenly his contentious life. As Philip was hunting in the forest of Fontainbleau, his horse fell with him, and he was so much hurt that he expired, 4th Nov. 1314.

The main policy throughout his entire reign was to depress the nobles and to raise the middle classes. He allowed persons of low birth to purchase fiefs, the possession of which elevated them to the rank of nobles. And to raise the condition of the middle classes in general, Philip allowed the communes to send deputies to the States-general, which previously had only comprised nobles and prelates. Thus the most important measure of his administration was the convocation, in 1302, of the first States-general composed of three *Orders* of deputies, clergy, nobles, and towns-people. And it was thus that the most despotic of French kings revealed to the people their rights and future destiny.

As the States-general have often had the term of Parliament misapplied to them, it is necessary to distinguish between those two different bodies. The Parliament of Paris appears to have taken its origin from a supreme council, which, under the Capetian kings, comprised the immediate feudal vassals of the crown, the prelates and officers of the royal household. This was the great judicial tribunal of the French crown. St. Louis made a considerable alteration in its constitution, and it acquired in his time the title of Parliament. Philip the Fair fixed its seat at Paris. Several of the provinces had also separate parliaments. Such were those of Toulouse,

Rennes, Dijon, Grenoble, and other places. The constitution of the States-general has been already defined. Their meetings were frequent, till the year 1614, from which time they were discontinued till 1789, when they were again summoned at the eventful crisis of the Revolution.

The Three Sons of Philip the Fair (1314–1328)—Louis X. (1314–1316).—Three sons of Philip *the Fair* reigned one after the other: Louis X., surnamed *the Quarreller*, from 1314 to 1316; Philip V., surnamed *the Long*, until 1322; Charles *the Fair*, until 1328. The first of these princes wore the crown only eighteen months, and there are only three facts to record during his reign: the murder of Marguerite of Burgundy, whom her husband caused to be strangled; an expedition against Flanders which failed, for it could do nothing against Courtray, the siege of which was raised, and almost all the army, from want of provisions, perished in the Flanders bogs; lastly, a sharp feudal reaction directed against the ministers of Philip *the Fair* in an attempt to destroy his work. Enguerrand de Marigny, the minister of finance of the late king, was hanged on the Montfaucon gibbet which he had himself caused to be erected, without being permitted to speak in his own defence. Raoul de Presle, advocate-general, and Pierre de Latilly, were tortured, Nogaret ruined, and the nobles of several provinces reinvested themselves with the privileges of which they had been stripped—such as the re-establishment of their ancient laws, trial by battle, the right of private warfare, abolition of procedure by written depositions, which rendered lawyers necessary, destitution of royal judges, etc. At the same time Louis, as a means of raising money, issued a solemn declaration, that “according to the law of nature, every man should be free-born,” and he thence concluded that all Frenchmen being naturally free, the serfs of the royal domains might redeem themselves on paying a certain sum. But the greater part of them preferred their money to their freedom. Whereupon Louis made a law compelling them to purchase their

enfranchisement, whether they would or not. Villanage steadily declined from this epoch; contrary to that which prevailed in the preceding centuries, liberty became in turn the rule amongst the rural, as it long had been among the urban populations, and that was the villanage which remained the exception. The last serfs were only enfranchised under Louis XVI. Philip *the Fair* had driven away the Jews; Louis permitted them to return, on condition that they should abandon two-thirds of their credits. The Jews were then looked upon "as sponges that might be arbitrarily squeezed." They were expelled in order to confiscate their possessions, and they were recalled with a view to future confiscation.

As Louis X. died suddenly, his death was at the time ascribed to poison, but it was with greater probability attributable to his own imprudence in drinking cold water when heated by playing at tennis, and then sitting down to rest himself in a damp grotto. He was seized with a sudden chill, and died next day, in his twenty-eighth year. He left an only daughter; but his queen, Clemence of Hungary, gave birth some months afterwards to a posthumous son, John, who lived only eight days. It became a question whether his sister should wear the crown. As a text of the evangelist runs: "Consider the lilies how they grow: they toil not, they spin not," etc., that would evidently mean that the kingdom of the lilies should not fall to the distaff. In the fourteenth century that was a logical reason. There were others also; it was not desirable that a foreigner should gain France by a marriage; and the States-general, applying to the crown the law of succession anciently affecting Salic domains, excluded from the throne the daughter of Louis X. Thus the right of female heirship to fiefs was recognised, without, however, admitting its application to the crown.

Philip *the Long*, after a regency of five or six months, was proclaimed king in the place of his niece (1316). That decision operated against his own house; for he himself had only daughters, who were disinherited in

favour of Charles IV. their uncle. This latter prince was predeceased by his two sons, and his widow gave birth to a daughter who was equally excluded. He had remarked to his barons on his deathbed: "If the queen brings a son into the world, he will be your king; if a daughter, the crown will belong to Philip of Valois, whom I declare your regent" (1322). The way to the throne was thus opened to a new branch of the Capetians, that of Valois.

The whole of Philip's short reign was, from various causes, a period of turbulence and inquietude. He appears to have been a man of good abilities, and desirous of remedying the disorders in the state, but found himself powerless to stem the tide of corruption which prevailed so generally. He died of a lingering disorder at the Château de Vincennes, 3rd Jan. 1322, aged twenty-nine.

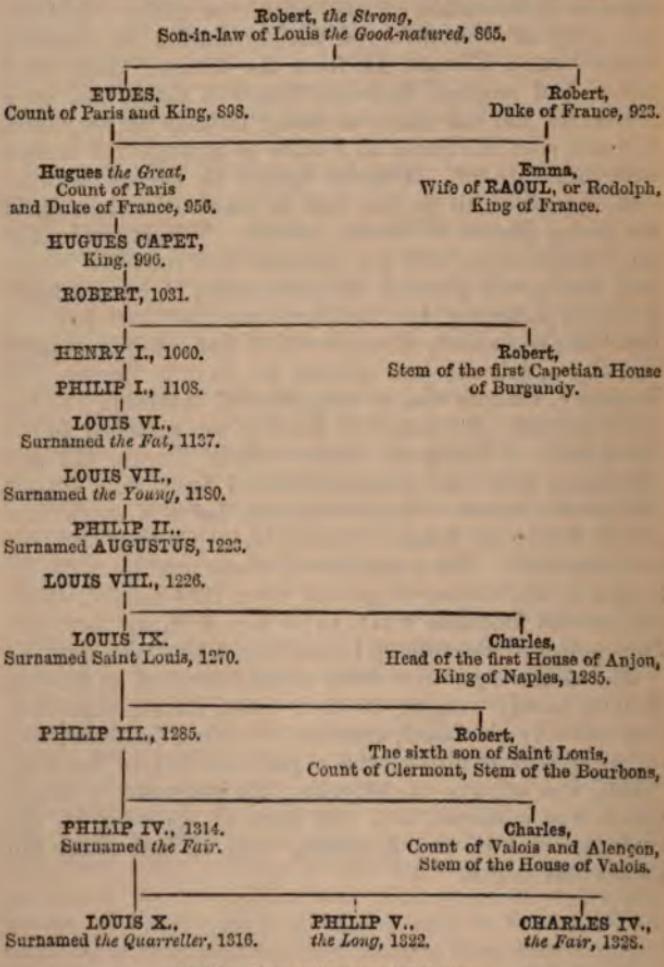
Few military events are recorded during the reigns of Philip V. and of Charles IV., but many measures for the regulation of the government of the country. Philip V. thrice convoked the States-general, and seemed anxious to fix their meetings periodically, and he again excluded churchmen from the Parliament, in order to have all its members under his full authority; but they were readmitted afterwards under the name of clerical counsellors. He was already desirous of establishing a standard of monies, weights, and measures, "in order that the people might merchandise more securely," and he made in finance, in the organization of the chamber of accounts, and in the administration of woods and waters, etc., several ordinances which indicate a remarkable spirit of order and economy. The royal domains were declared inalienable and imprescriptible. Under this reign a cruel persecution was carried on against lepers and Jews; and one of the first acts of Charles was to banish the Lombards, who had acquired enormous wealth by money lending, taking care to first seize on their effects, and sending them back to their own country "just such beggars as they had come out of it." But

he gave a great example of just severity. The baron of L'Ile-en-Jourdain, convicted of several crimes, was hanged, in spite of the supplications of all the nobility and the intervention of the pope, his uncle. Abroad, this king at first favoured the revolution in England which hurled Edward II. from the throne. That weak prince had married Isabella, Charles's sister, and on a revival of the old claim of doing homage for Guyenne, Edward sent his queen to France to arrange the matter with her brother. Charles agreed to excuse Edward from appearing in person, and to receive the homage of the young Prince of Wales instead. Whilst resident at the French court, with her favourite and confident Mortimer, she openly planned the destruction of her wretched husband, soliciting her brother's aid for that purpose. But Charles entirely disapproved of her conduct, refused her any assistance, and desired her to quit France. In Germany, Charles was on the point of obtaining the imperial crown. But a sort of fatality was attached to the three sons of Philip *the Fair*. These princes, tall and handsome, and who seemed destined for a long career, died in the flower of their manhood: Louis X. at twenty-seven, Philip *the Long* at twenty-eight, Charles *the Fair* at thirty-four. The people saw in these premature deaths a sign of the divine vengeance upon that family, which had caused Boniface VIII. to be struck in the face, perhaps poisoned Benedict XI., and burnt the Templars.

The middle ages were even at this moment, at least in France, nearly verging to their close, for all that they had specially cherished, crusades, chivalry, feudalism, was at an end or expiring; the papacy, reviled in Boniface VIII., was captive at Avignon; the successor of Hugh Capet was a despot, and the sons of serfs sat in the States-general of the kingdom, face to face with the nobles and clerics.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ELDER BRANCH
OF THE CAPETIANS.

(*The date following each name is that of the king's death.*)



Fifteen Kings, who reigned 381 years,

SIXTH PERIOD.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR WITH THE ENGLISH (1328-1453).

Branch of the Capetian-Valois—Philip VI. (1328-1350).—Philip IV., of Valois, cousin of Charles IV., nephew of Philip *the Fair*, and grandson of Philip III., came to the throne in virtue of the Salic law, interpreted thrice in twelve years against female succession. Edward III., king of England, grandson of Philip *the Fair*, by his mother Isabella, protested against that exclusion, and claimed the crown, but the external troubles of England obliged him to dissemble for a time his ambitious designs, and recognise the rights of Philip VI., to whom he did homage for his duchy of Guyenne. The victory of Cassel, which Philip won for the Earl of Flanders over his revolted subjects, gave the illusion of military glory to the new royal house (1328). The Flemings had taken their position upon a hill in the environs of Cassel, but the French were too prudent to attack them there. The former were the first to lose patience on seeing their country delivered up to the flames, and descended into the plain where the French chivalry slew 13,000 of them.

Never, since Charlemagne, had a king of France found himself so potent. Master, directly, of three-fourths of the realm; suzerain, for the fiefs which they possessed in France, of the kings of Majorca, of Navarre, and of England; the ally of the kings of Bohemia and Scotland; kinsman of those of Naples and Hungary, an interested protector of the pope, whom he kept prisoner at Avignon, Philip VI. extended his influence far and wide, and thought to place himself, as the chief of Christendom, at

the head of the European chivalry for a new and last crusade. It was during that prosperous position, amidst the splendours and pleasures of a magnificent and chivalrous court, when the country, already habituated to an absolute monarchy, saw, favoured by peace and order, its industry and commerce fast increasing, that that disastrous war broke out which cast back France for more than a century into chaos.

Edward III. acutely regretted the non-possession of that brilliant crown of France to which his birth appeared to give him rights. Circumstances had compelled him, in 1338, to acknowledge Philip of Valois, but circumstances might change; and, in 1336, they had already changed. Philip well knew of that slumbering ambition, and did not fail to increase the embarrassments of the English king, aiding the Scots in their war against him. France, to the very last day of the independence of Scotland, sought and ever found devoted friends in that country. But Edward defeated the Scots, and surely promised himself to give to the first enemy of France that support which Philip VI. had given to his. When Robert d'Artois, accused of having attempted the king's life, fled to England, he was perfectly well received in Edward's court.

This Robert was a prince of the blood, one of the royal family of France. He had pretensions to the earldom of Artois, withheld by his aunt, and after her by her daughters. To support his claim, he fabricated false evidence and bribed false witnesses. Robert had probably poisoned his aunt and the eldest of his cousins. A sentence of the court of peers condemned him to the loss of his possessions, and to perpetual banishment (1332). He withdrew into Brabant, and in revenge "bewitched" the king's son. It was a superstition of the middle ages, that one might get rid of any one by causing a waxen image of him to be made by a sorcerer. That image if well-moulded and once baptized, with mass and religious consecration, and left to melt in the sunshine, or if pricked to the heart with a needle, the person whom it represented died slowly, *but surely*. The affair was discovered. Robert, terrified

at a trial for sorcery, found himself too near France, and fled to England, where he urged Edward to enter upon a war against Philip (1334).

Edward had a more serious reason for taking up arms. The Flemings were then the most industrious, the wealthiest, and most independent people of Europe. The Earl Louis de Nevers, ever in want of money, violated their privileges to procure it, and cruelly punished all resistance. The cloths of Flanders were manufactured from the wool of England, so that if the Earl was French at heart, the Flemings were English through interest. In 1336, they drove out Earl Louis; and their popular leader, the brewer Arteveld, immediately invoked the support of Edward III., by giving him the fatal advice to assume the title of King of France, to rid the Flemings of any scruple, who would probably have hesitated to fight against their liege lord, and who no longer hesitate when Arteveld had thus cloaked their taking up arms with a shadow of right.

The war, commenced in 1337, from the side of Flanders, languished several years. The French, defeated in the sea fight off Sluys, through the want of skill of their admirals, who had not before commanded at sea, were conquerors at St. Omer. A truce agreed upon between Edward and Philip for some time interrupted the struggle.

In 1341, a war of succession broke out in Brittany, where the two kings each supported a different candidate to the ducal throne. Duke John III., having just died childless, it became a question whether the duchy should pass to the daughter of his eldest brother who had pre-deceased him, to Jeanne de Penthièvre, married to Charles of Blois, or to his youngest brother, Jean de Montfort. The legists were fertile in precedents, but policy decided the question. Charles of Blois was nephew of Philip VI.; with him Brittany would be in greater dependence upon the crown; a decree of Parliament therefore decided in his favour. John de Montfort hastily crossed over to England, prominent to acknowledge Edward III. as King of France, and to hold from him Brittany in fief, on con-

dition that he should aid and defend him as his liege-man or vassal, with all his power loyally. A war then broke out, all the incidents of which are narrated with great spirit by Froissart. Charles of Blois, supported by a numerous French army, first besieged his adversary in the town of Nantes. Thirty Breton knights had been taken prisoners in the neighbouring castle. Charles of Blois, notwithstanding his piety, which gave him the reputation of a saint, and Duke John, in spite of the surname afterwards attached to his name of *the Good*, caused these thirty knights to be beheaded, and had their heads thrown by engines called balistas into the city. The terrified citizens capitulated; and John de Montfort was imprisoned in Paris, in the tower of the Louvre. The traitor Robert d'Artois perished about this time in a skirmish near Vannes.

Shortly afterwards, Olivier de Clisson and fourteen Breton knights, who had pledged their faith to the King of England, were invited by Philip VI. to a great tournament at Paris, arrested there, and, without any form of trial, also beheaded. Edward, regarding the death of the Breton knights as an infraction of the truce, immediately renewed the war; at first in Guyenne, where the Earl of Derby took, after a vigorous resistance, La Reole, Porte St.-Marie, and penetrated as far as Angoulême, whilst Prince John vainly led his forces against the small town of Aiguillon. Meanwhile, Edward had collected a considerable armament, but was uncertain whither to direct it. In Brittany, the French party had regained the ascendant; Guyenne was far off; and, finally, a tragic event had just closed Flanders to him. Arteveld, his "gossip," as he called him, was desirous of delivering up the country to Edward's sway, so that Edward's eldest son, the Prince of Wales, might reign over Flanders. The Flemings were equally unwilling to belong to the English as to the French, and Arteveld was murdered in his own house by the same people whose idol he had been.

The English fleet, however, set sail for the mouth of the *Gironde*, but was driven back into the channel by a

storm. Another traitor, Geoffrey d'Harcourt, advised a landing in Normandy, promising the support of his own vassals and of the whole province. The king, therefore, disembarked with 32,000 men (20th July, 1346), at La Hogue St. Vaast, in the Contentin. He took one after another easily—Barfleur, Cherbourg, Valognes, and St. Lö; and on the 26th, he was under the walls of Caen, "a city larger than any in England save London." The townsmen at first came out boldly, but on approaching the English forces, drawn up in three lines of battle, they fled precipitately, and the English entering the town along with the runaways slew them, without giving any quarter. The townsmen, however, regaining courage, and defending themselves in their houses, more than 500 English were killed or wounded, when Edward ordered the fighting to cease, promising the inhabitants their lives. The town of Louviers was next taken; but an attempt upon Rouen having failed, he directed his march along the left bank of the Seine, burning Pont-de-l'Arche, Vernon, Poissy, and St. Germain. His scouts penetrated almost to the gates of Paris, burning and pillaging Bourg-la-Reine and St. Cloud.

Philip, however, had mustered a large army of 120,000 and marched to meet the English. Edward rebuilt the bridge of Poissy in order to cross the Seine, retreating upon Ponthieu, his inheritance, to place himself in safety behind the Somme. Philip had caused all the fords of that river to be fortified and guarded. At that of Blanquetaque, he had placed 1000 men-at-arms and 5000 Genoese archers; Edward cut his way through that passage, but perceiving that he could not retreat further, he halted, and, on the 27th of August, drew up his army in battle array, upon the slope of a hillock near Crecy, keeping his troops in good order and well supplied with rations.

Philip had set out from Abbeville at day-dawn to go in search of the enemy, who was some five leagues off. A heavy rain fell during the whole of the march. Four knights sent forward to reconnoitre the position of the

English, returned to say that they had found them drawn up in the place where they had chosen to make a stand, and they had advised the king to give his soldiers a night's repose. Philip ordered a halt. But the great nobles of France, who commanded the different corps of the army, vied with each other, in their vanity, as to who should station his force the nearest possible to the enemy. "Neither the king, nor his marshals, therefore, could be masters of their troops, for there was a crowd of great lords, and each was eager to show his power. They pricked forward in that state, without array or disposition, so far forward that they found themselves in presence of their enemies. The English, so soon as they saw the French approach, rose up in good order, without any alarm, and ranged themselves in order of battle. When King Philip had reached a spot whence he could see the English thus drawn up, it stirred his blood, for he hated them much, and he said to his marshals, 'Send the Genoese forward, and begin the battle in the name of God and Saint Denis.'"^{*}

The rain which had not ceased to fall up to that moment, had so relaxed the bow-strings of the Genoese, that their arrows fell short of their mark. So, when they were ordered to begin the attack, "they were sorely tired and harrassed from having marched that day more than six leagues, fully armed, and with their cross-bows to carry, and they therefore told their constables that they were not half fit to do any great deed of arms." When the Count d'Alençon heard those words, he shouted angrily, "Treason! treason!" and ordered his men to ride over the Genoese and drive them off the field. In spite of their representations, and further that the day was already far advanced, the Genoese having the order to attack, they did so with much resolution. But the English, who had awaited them in silence, and who, during the rain, had hidden the strings of their cross-bows in their hoods, let fly a shower of arrows. Edward had intermingled with his archers "bombs, which, by means of fire, darted

* Froissart,

small iron balls to terrify and destroy the horses; and the reports of these bombards caused such a shaking and noise, that it seemed as if the heavens were thundering, with a great massacre of men and overthrowing of horses." The Genoese, fifteen thousand strong, lost heart and gave way, "but a hedge of French men-at-arms barred their passage. The King of France, when he saw their broken ranks, and that they were discomfited, cried aloud, "Slay all these rascals, for they block up our way uselessly."

The execution of such an order necessarily entailed the loss of the battle, for it caused immense confusion, of which the English profited. The rout being thus begun by the French themselves, there was an end of all order and command of the whole army. Each man pressing forwards, they overset one another; and those who were down could not rise because of the press. The English, meanwhile, stood firmly together, and discharged such thick and steady flights of arrows, that they made a dreadful havoc. When the old King of Bohemia, blind as he was, sitting on horseback in the midst of his followers, heard that the action had begun, he said to two of his nobles, "I beg and require of you very specially, that you lead me so far forward that I may strike one stroke against the enemy." They obeyed him, and tying the reins of his horse's bridle to the bridles of their own, galloped with him into the thickest of the fight, where they met a speedy death. Their three bodies were found with their horses tied together, and a small stone cross still marks the spot where they fell.

The French princes, who had hurried on the battle by their imprudence, paid bravely for it in their persons. They cut their way through the first English division, composed of archers, and attacked the line of men-at-arms commanded by the Prince of Wales. At one moment the efforts of the French appeared so formidable, that Edward was asked to advance with the third division to the aid of his son, but the stern soldier-king, who, from the top of a windmill, where he had placed himself, was better enabled to judge of the fortunes of the fight,

refused to send any succour to the prince's relief. "Tell my generals," said he, "that he shall have no assistance from me; the honour of the day shall be his; let him show himself worthy of the profession of arms, and let him be indebted to his own merit alone for victory." These words, being reported to the prince and his attendants, inspired them with new courage; they made a fresh onset against the French chivalry, and Count d'Alençon, their bravest leader, was slain. The cannon which Edward brought into action for the first time produced more terror than slaughter; but the arrows of the English archers, and the lances of the men-at-arms, overthrew a great number of knights, who, with wearied horses, attacked in a disorderly manner men well posted and disposed. Philip had remained within arrow-shot, and had his horse killed under him. Although he saw the battle was lost, he would not quit the field till his attendants forced him from it. Under cover of the darkness, he reached the castle of Broye, and demanded to have the gates opened to him. The governor refused to admit him till he knew who he was. "It is the unfortunate King of France," was the reply.

France had never sustained such a terrible defeat: 11 princes, 80 bannerets, 1200 knights, and 30,000 soldiers, were left on the field of battle, without reckoning two bodies of militia, who lost their way and fell next day into the hands of the English, and were entirely destroyed.

Edward III., instead of following up his victory after that glorious day, continued his retreat; for he had not a single stronghold wherein he could establish himself, or a port in which reinforcements from England could be landed. With a view, therefore, of securing an easy entrance into France for the future, he laid siege to Calais, then defended by John de Vienne, an experienced soldier. It was a strong place, but the operations, though slow, were at last successful. It was taken after a defence of eleven months had reduced the inhabitants to the last extremity of famine. Edward expelled all the inhabitants and peopled the town with his own subjects.

The two adversaries at length became equally wearied of the war, when Pope Clement VI. offered a mediation, of which one side was as desirous as the other; and on 28th September 1347, the two kings signed, for themselves and for their allies, a truce to last six months, leaving each in possession of what he held. Edward retained Calais, as well as several places which the Earl of Derby had gained in Guyenne.

To the calamities of war was now added a scourge still more terrible. The plague, called *the Black Death*, after having ravaged the greater part of Europe, penetrated into France. "In many places," says a contemporary writer, "out of twenty men not two were left alive. In the Hôtel Dieu at Paris, the mortality was such, that for a long time 500 dead were carried daily in carts to the cemetery of the Innocents." The people accused the Jews of having poisoned the wells and fountains, rushed upon them in several places, and dragged them to the stake without the government taking the trouble to intervene. The *Black Death*, it is said, carried off in Europe a third of its population, and in Paris alone 80,000 persons. In the guise of a sanitary measure, Philip of Valois made a law against blasphemers, decreeing that, for each repetition of the offence, a lip should be first cut off, then the other, and next the tongue.

It was from Philip VI. that a tax called *Gabelle* took its origin, which remained peculiarly odious throughout the old monarchy. All the salt that was made in France was stored in the royal warehouses, and thence sold at whatever price the king and his ministers chose to fix. The right of exportation was taken away, and another tax, ruinous to commerce, was placed upon all commodities sold in the interior, and upon all drinks sold in towns.

One of the last acts of Philip VI. was the important acquisition of the province which afterwards bore the name of Dauphiné. Humbert II., the dauphin of Vienne, (so called because his house bore a dolphin (*dauphin*) in its coat-of-arms), having caused the death of his only child

by letting him fall out of a window, was so inconsolable for his loss, that he entered a monastery, having first sold his territories to Philip for 120,000 florins (1349), on condition that the eldest son of the kings of France should, in future, bear the title of Dauphin. This acquisition was of great importance, because the new province covered Lyons and extended France to the foot of the Alps. The annexation of Provence was from that moment only a question of time. Montpellier was in like manner bought of the King of Majorca.

John the Good (1350-1364).—The death of Philip of Valois, which occurred in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign (12th Aug. 1350), caused no change in the situation of the kingdom. John, who succeeded him, was in his thirty-first year. Like his father, he was impetuous and violent, brave and prodigal, altogether a very bad king; but as he had on many occasions shown an extraordinary degree of personal valour—a quality at all times possessing an irresistible charm for the French people—it is probable he owed to that his surname of *the Good*. During the first months of his succession he distributed amongst his nobles the money he found in the treasury, and, when money grew scarce, accorded them dispensations of payment for the debts they had contracted. Money very quickly became scarce; and to procure it, the king had recourse to tampering with the coinage, and other very strange expedients. Such recourses were still far from sufficing to a prince who, on one occasion, in a moment of distress, gave 50,000 crowns to one of his knights. John, proposing to ask the nation to grant the money of which he stood in need, convoked the States-general at Paris in 1351. Very little is known of what passed therein: there were many complaints, a few promises, and no reforms. The war continued in Brittany between the knights of both sides, but the kings no longer took part in it; they even signed a fresh truce. Besides the two princes who disputed between themselves the title of King of France, a third was found who pretended that he had more right

thereto than any other—Charles, king of Navarre, whose turbulence and love of intrigue had earned for him the name of *the Bad*. Son of a daughter of Louis X., he would have inherited the crown but for the operation of the Salic law. Whilst awaiting the realization of his hopes, he claimed Champagne, and next Angoumois; and the latter province having been given to the Constable de Lacerda, a particular friend of the king, he caused him to be assassinated. John seized his fiefs in Normandy, and Charles crossed over to England.

The English had gained so much in their first expedition (40,000 pieces of cloth in the town of Caen alone), that they were eager to return to France. Edward brought them in by way of Calais, in 1355, and ravaged Artois. His son, the Black Prince, entered therein by Bordeaux, and carried off from Languedoc 1000 carts laden with booty. John did not once venture to give battle during this pillage. What he had expended in levying troops to oppose the English with had, however, ruined him; and, the treasury being empty, he again summoned the States-general, hoping that they might fill it. But this time the deputies grew bolder. Accustomed to order, to economy, and honesty in the management of municipal monies, they were indignant at the frightful waste to which the finances of the State had been subjected, and loudly demanded various reforms. The States-general, moreover, engaged to furnish 30,000 men-at-arms, and five million livres wherewith to pay them during the year; to meet which sum taxes were imposed upon the three orders in common.

The idea of paying a tax deeply offended the nobles; and among the most active of the opponents was the King of Navarre, whom a treaty with John had brought back to France, and the Count d'Harcourt, his friend. On hearing this, John exclaimed, "that he would have no master in France, save himself;" and one day that the Dauphin Charles, then aged nineteen, had invited the King of Navarre and his friends to a banquet, John, well informed of the time, rode into Rouen to surprise them, and arrested them himself at his son's table. In spite of

the tears and prayers of the young prince, who seemed to have drawn the victims into a snare, John caused the King of Navarre to be cast into prison "after dinner," and the Count d'Harcourt and some others to be taken to a field called the *Field of Pardon*, where they were beheaded. He delighted in that sort of summary justice. At the commencement of his reign he had beheaded in the very courtyard of his palace the constable Raoul de Nesle, under pretext of his holding communication with the English. A few months after he was himself a prisoner.

John was besieging the small town of Breteuil, a possession of the King of Navarre, when he heard that the Prince of Wales had once more taken the field with 2000 men-at-arms and 6000 archers; that he had crossed the Garonne and the Dordogne, and had sacked the Rouergue, Auvergne, the Limousin, and Berry. The Prince of Wales marched onwards thus, burning everything on his way, as far as the small town of Romorantin. The town opened its gates at the first summons; but the castle was defended by three brave knights, who thought not of surrendering, however weak their defences might be. Irritated at having lost, before the walls of such a paltry fortress, a favourite knight, the prince swore an oath that he would not quit the place until he had taken it. In the end the castle surrendered; but the obstinacy of its defenders had somewhat compromised the English army.

The Battle of Poitiers (1356).—The King of France, meanwhile, had crossed the Loire, and had reached Poitiers before the English army, so as to bar the way to Bordeaux. The Black Prince, on approaching Poitiers, posted his forces on the summit of a steep hillock, thickly planted with vineyards and intersected with strong hedges and bushes, at a distance of two leagues north of the city, near Beauvoir. Having strengthened the natural defences of his position with palisades and trenches, he ranged his baggage-waggons so as to form a rampart where the ground was more open. The top of the hillock could only be reached on horseback by a path scarcely

wide enough to admit three horses abreast. The prince lined the hedges which flanked this path with archers; and upon the level summit he ranged in order of battle his men-at-arms, whom he dismounted, scattering in front of them the rest of his archers among the vines.

King John commanded one of the most splendid armies that France had ever raised. Without reckoning his four sons, he had under him 26 dukes or counts, 140 lords-bannerets, and about 50,000 fighting men, of whom a great number were knights clad in complete armour. John had only to refrain from fighting to subdue the English by famine; but the king was anxious to efface the disgrace of Crecy, and doubled it.

The two French marshals, d'Audenharn and Jean de Clermont, at the head of 300 chosen knights, instead of turning the English position by attacking the rear, rushed into the narrow way which led to the plateau; but the horses were soon pierced through and through by arrows aimed at them from behind the hedges, and, rendered furious with pain, became ungovernable and unseated their riders. The English foot-soldiers then issued from their cover and slew those who lay on the ground. In a few moments the whole of that troop was defeated; and the runaways falling back upon the corps commanded by the Dauphin, threw terror and disorder into their ranks. The Prince of Wales profiting by this moment of confusion to charge, crying, "St. George and Guyenne!" with 600 men-at-arms he had kept hidden at the back of the hillock, fell upon the flank of the shaken column, cut it in two, and dispersed it. Dismayed at this repulse, the French fled—the Dauphin one amongst the first, taking with him more than 800 lances, who formed his escort. The second corps, under the orders of the Duke of Orleans, followed his brother's example.

Thus two-thirds of the French army were already routed, almost without having struck a stroke. Nevertheless, the third division, commanded by the king, was more than double that of the whole English army. John was not wanting either in courage or skill, and still continued

confident of victory. But he had committed the error of dismounting his knights. That manœuvre, profitable to the English so long as they remained on the hillock and among the vineyards, was most destructive to the French on the open plain. The Prince of Wales, on the contrary, ordered his men-at-arms to remount; and when his 2000 horsemen charged upon the plain, no troops on foot could resist the shock of those heavy horses wearing armour, as did also those they carried.

John, who had placed himself, battle-axe in hand, in front of his followers, struck down a number of his enemies, and was himself twice wounded in the face. His youngest son, Philip *the Bold*, remained near him, notwithstanding the flight of his eldest brothers, and at each fresh assault shouted to the king, "Father, guard yourself on the right; father, guard yourself on the left!" Every effort in the fight had, in fact, fallen upon the king. At last, John, entirely surrounded by the enemy, found that his troops had given way on every side, and that the field was lost. The brave English knights were emulous of securing so rich a prize, but John at length surrendered to a knight of Artois, de Morbec, who had enlisted in the English army.

The action which began at daybreak was ended at noon. The French left 11,000 dead upon the field of battle. The English, who had only lost 2500, took prisoners 13 counts, an archbishop, 70 barons, and 2000 men-at-arms, without reckoning combatants of lower degree; so that they soon found themselves with twice as many prisoners as they numbered soldiers. The charge of a band so numerous caused them some uneasiness: they hastened, therefore, to put them, for the most part, to ransom, and release them on parole. Those prisoners engaged to appear at Bordeaux at Christmas, or to return into captivity. As for the chief prisoner, the Prince of Wales considered him of too great importance to think of humiliating him. He treated him with all respect, and waited upon him himself at supper, and would not sit down at the king's table without being first bidden. Impatient to place his

prisoners and his immense booty in safety, he repaired immediately to Bordeaux, and shortly sailed for London. John was there received by Edward and his queen, Philippa, with every mark of respect, and the Savoy palace allotted for his residence.



BOURDEAUX.

During John's captivity, France fell into the greatest misery. The fermentation was already great, when the Dauphin Charles came to Paris ten days after the battle. He took the title of lieutenant of the King of France, and convoked the States-general. Many stringent measures were passed against abuses, and probably the most important was to give the States the faculty of assembling twice a-year to be assured that the laws were observed, and to permit them to name thirty-six commissioners (twelve of each order), who, in the absence of the States, should assist the Dauphin in the government of the kingdom. He possessed much talent and great activity, but *was too young and inexperienced to govern that dis-*

tracted country. Moreover, he was misled by evil counsellors, and lost the confidence of the people by making promises of redressing their grievances, which he did not perform. Among the most active and skilful of the States' commissioners was one Etienne Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, who at first professed a great desire to protect the liberties of his fellow-citizens, though he soon declared himself a strenuous partisan of the King of Navarre. Among other promises which the Dauphin failed to keep was one—the accomplishment of which the citizens had most at heart—that he would not tamper with the coinage. On the 22nd Feb. 1358, he issued an ordinance for the alteration of the coinage. Great exasperation was immediately felt in Paris, and the citizens proceeded to those extremities which ruin the best of causes—to violence. The next day Marcel assembled in arms all the trade corporations, and with them entered the Dauphin's palace, and forced his way to the presence chamber. After an interchange of acrimonious words, Marcel at length said to the Dauphin: "Sire, do not be dismayed at what you are about to see, since it must be so." Then, turning round to some of his followers: "Come," said he, "make short work of that which you came here to do." Those thus addressed fell upon the marshals of Champagne and of Normandy, the principal counsellors of the Dauphin, and slew them so near him that his robe was spotted with their blood. Charles, terrified, begged Marcel to spare him. The provost assured him that he was in no danger, and justified himself by saying that those counsellors had given the Dauphin bad advice. He then snatched the *barrette* cap from the prince's head, and flung his own parti-coloured hood of red and blue in its place, which was the badge of Navarre. Charles, powerless to punish such insolence, or even the murder of his ministers, took the first opportunity of escaping from Paris.

The deputies of the nobility and the majority of those of the clergy were already estranged from the assembly, *which was nothing more than a representation of the*

towns subjected to the ascendant of the deputation and of the municipality of Paris. After the murder of the two ministers, the nobles manifested a lively irritation against those citizens who were desirous of ruling the State, and whose plebeian hands had just shed illustrious blood. The Dauphin going to open the States-general of Champagne at Provins, the Count de Braine asked him whether the Marshal of Champagne had committed any crime deserving death. Charles replied that the two marshals had always served him well and loyally. Then the count threw himself upon his knees before him and supplicated him to do justice upon a crime so heinous. At the States of Vermandois, held at Compiègne, the nobles offered him their services against the rebels of Paris, and he accepted them.

This was a declaration of war: civil war, indeed, began. The Dauphin mustered a band of 7000 lances, with whom he lived by making forced exactions upon the country, occupying by turns Meaux, Melun, St. Maur, and intercepting all the traffic on the Upper Seine and the Marne. Marcel, on his part, had seized on the Louvre; he had repaired and completed the circumvallation of Paris, placed balistas and cannon on the fortifications, and fixed chains in all the streets, which might be stretched across them instantly, and kept in pay mercenaries.

At the same time that the nobles and the citizens were attacking each other, the peasants, on their part, rose up in arms. Upon them had fallen almost the entire weight of the country's misfortunes. The towns and castles had nothing to fear from pillagers; but the villages were the prey of the smallest chief of a band. When the enemy had passed onwards with his booty, the friendly troops came who pillaged to live, and the nobles took the rest. They had to fortify and victual their castles, to pay their men-at-arms, find money for their ransom or that of a relative or friend. They seized upon the movables, the crops, the cattle, the horses, and ruined the French to enrich the English, whom they had not known how to conquer, although *ten to one*.

When the peasants learned that the townsmen had begun to make war against the nobles, they thought it a good opportunity to avenge themselves for their long sufferings. Agreeing that it would be a justifiable deed to exterminate the whole race of the nobility and gentry, they seized on scythes, pitchforks, or any weapon available, and rushing to the nearest château, they set it in flames and murdered all the inmates. The signal was first given in Beauvais. This insurrection, which was called the *Jacquerie*, spread with frightful rapidity, and the most hideous scenes took place. Pity was shown to neither age nor sex: they tortured their prisoners, outraged the noblest women, burned the little children, and left only blood and ashes on their track. In Champagne and Picardy alone they mustered more than 100,000, with the resolute intention of not leaving one noble alive in the land. The latter, seized at first with a panic, fled to the nearest fortified place, but afterwards uniting with the English, an atrocious and merciless war began.

Marcel was himself too much pressed to despise the allies which presented themselves. He knew well that the citizens alone were unable to make a revolution, and therefore had an understanding with the revolted peasants; and when they marched upon Meaux, wherein many noble families had taken refuge, he sent them two companies of town militia, and the inhabitants of that city also made common cause with them. Thus commenced the union of the townspeople with those of the country. Meaux, however, had a strong fortress which held out. The peasants were defeated, hunted down in all directions, and exterminated. For some weeks there was a frightful massacre. The gloomy remembrance of that abomination has existed through centuries, and the word *Jacquerie* held to denote a union of the savage enemies of all society.

Marcel had reckoned upon the peasantry, but the "Jacques" were hanged, burnt, and hunted down like wild beasts. He had also reckoned upon a prince, think-

ing to win over with him a part of the nobles, and to have cavalry and men in armour wherewith to oppose the Dauphin's knights—upon Charles *the Bad*, whom he had released from prison. This new ally of the citizens had often allowed that hatred of the plebeians to be perceptible, which was then professed by all the nobility. Quite recently he had massacred, in a rencontre, 3000 "Jacques," and caused Caillet, the king of the *Jacquerie*, to be crowned with a trivet of red-hot iron. Horrible as that war had been, the citizens had a confused notion that there was a certain bond of union between them and the peasantry, and that the destroyer of the one could hardly be the sincere friend of the other. Marcel had, therefore, chosen a dangerous auxiliary.



MEAUX.

On the 8th July 1358, the Dauphin having advanced upon Paris, Marcel entreated the King of Navarre to repulse the enemy. Charles *the Bad* went out of Paris; but instead of attacking the Dauphin, he had a long con-

ference with him—in fact, they concluded a treaty. Full satisfaction was promised him for all his wrongs, and 400,000 florins if he delivered up the city and Marcel. These secret dealings got wind in Paris; cries of "Treason" were raised, and the sheriffs deprived Charles *the Bad* of his title of "Captain." He immediately quitted Paris, and fell upon the surrounding country, burning and pillaging all around like the Dauphin.

The position of Marcel became critical, for food in Paris became scarce. The bold and clever provost, through having attempted an impossible revolution, was thus daily driven to adopt resolutions more and more desperate. The King of Navarre was his only resource, and, to save the revolution, he did what Mirabeau wished to do in 1789, and what was done in 1830—not change the government, not even the dynasty, but the reigning branch. He promised to deliver up Paris to Charles, and proclaim him king. His plot was, however, suspected by some of his fellow-citizens, and a watch set upon his movements. On the night fixed for the execution of the design, Marcel was found near the Bastile St. Denis, with the keys of the gate in his hands. On being accused of treason by his friend Maillart, a sheriff who had counterminded the plot, a tumult arose, in which Mailart struck Marcel dead with one blow of his axe, and six of his followers were slain with him. (31st July 1358.)

The victory of the royalists was complete, and two days afterwards the Dauphin re-entered Paris; upon which the King of Navarre himself proposed a treaty of peace, by which he relinquished all pretensions to the crown of France, without stipulating for any personal advantage, declaring only that he wished to be a good Frenchman; and Paris, after numerous executions, seemed to become once more the loyal and docile city which it had been previously. Royalty had, indeed, received a serious warning; and John and Charles V. renounced thereafter any alteration of the coinage, and the latter endeavoured to render the States-general useless, by making himself *some reforms*, especially by governing wisely.

Though the restoration of the Dauphin's rule had been accomplished, the state of the kingdom seemed desperate. French and English pillagers still overran the country, and famine threatened to add yet one more scourge to unhappy France. However, peace with England was discussed. Weary of the magnificent hospitality of Windsor, John had treated with the King of England. He offered to give up one-half of France, and that the better half, comprising the mouths of all the rivers, besides four millions of gold crowns for the personal ransom of the king.

When this treaty was brought to Paris, its terms were thought to be so severe that the States-general were firm in their rejection of them. Five months afterwards, Edward, with a view to enforce compliance with his demands, landed at Calais (28th Oct. 1359), with his four sons, the greatest nobles of his realm, 6000 men-at-arms and 6000 baggage-waggons, "with everything necessary for living comfortably." The weather thwarted the expedition, for it rained incessantly. The Dauphin, warned by previous disasters, cautiously forbore to come to any decisive engagement. He left all the country open, but garrisoned the cities, and strongly fortified himself in Paris. Thus the citizens shut up in their towns, the nobles in their castles, allowed the storm to pass onwards without reaching them within their walls. Again the peasantry had to bear the brunt of the war, and dared not even defend themselves. At length, Edward marched direct to Paris, and encamped within two leagues of that city; but in vain attempted to provoke the Dauphin to an engagement, who would not suffer any of his knights to answer the insults of the English. At last Edward broke up his camp and advanced towards Chartres, still meeting no opposition, and amusing himself with his hawks and hounds, as though hunting rather than fighting were his object. Edward, in fact, had grown tired of that inert but invincible resistance; with the lassitude of a war in which no glory was to be found, since there were no battles wherein to reap it; no more

booty, because all was taken or hidden in the fortresses. The Dauphin was still more concerned to get rid of the English, for "France was in an agony, and would perish were her malady to continue ever so little longer." Conferences were opened at Bretigny, near Chartres (1st May 1360). The English negotiators at first claimed the crown of France; and next confined themselves to that territory which had belonged to the Plantagenets.

The king's ransom was fixed at three millions of gold crowns. It was to be paid by three instalments; and at the first payment Edward promised to set John at liberty, on receiving as hostages the king's three youngest sons, with the Duke of Orleans and thirty French noblemen, to guarantee payment of the remainder. Edward agreed to withdraw his pretensions to the crown, retaining, however, Calais, and all his son's late conquests in Guyenne.

Edward III. sailed for England towards the end of October 1360, and John returned to France after a captivity of four years. John's second wife, Jane, widow of the Duke of Burgundy, had one son by her former marriage, who died in 1361. In him ended the Capetian dukes of Burgundy. The King of Navarre claimed the duchy in right of his grandmother, who was aunt to the late duke; but John, although he had a more distant claim, took possession of it, and gave it to his youngest son. Having visited the duchy for that purpose, he thence went south, as far as Avignon, where he passed six months in banqueting and projecting a marriage with the celebrated Queen Joanna of Naples. During this visit, the pope proposed to John a scheme for a new crusade, by which France might be rid of all those armed bands which infested it, whilst he would render himself illustrious. It is not improbable that John might have flung himself into such a mad enterprise, but he was interrupted in this scheme by the news that one of his sons, the Duke of Anjou, having escaped from the hands of the English, to whom he was a hostage, had arrived in Paris, and refused to return. John regarded it as a *breach of his own honour*, which could only be redeemed by

surrendering himself again as a prisoner to Edward. He therefore returned to England, and thereby escaped in a chivalrous manner from his embarrassing position, and the spectacle of the miseries of France. He passed part of the winter in London, "in great rejoicings and recreations," says Froissart, "in dinners and suppers and other things." These feasts and banquets killed him, he died at London, 8th April 1364, aged forty-four. Due credit must be accorded him for the example he gave of fidelity to his word. The King of England gave him a royal and magnificent funeral.

One of his last acts, more fatal to France than the battle of Poitiers, was the cession which he made to his son, Philip *the Bold*, of the Duchy of Burgundy. Philip founded in this great fief the second house of Burgundy, which, in the following century, very nearly caused the ruin of the kingdom.

Charles V., surnamed the Wise (1364-1380).—The son of John *the Good*, Charles V., justly surnamed *the Wise*, was in his twenty-eighth year. His previous conduct was not of a nature to inspire very great hopes. As a warrior, he had given but poor proof at Poitiers, when he was one of the first to flee; as a politician, he had not cut a better figure at Paris during the revolution. The feebleness of his constitution, even his moral qualities, did not announce him as the man capable of repairing the misfortunes of the preceding reign.

The treaty of Bretigny had not settled everything. Charles *the Bad* maintained his pretensions and cherished his rancour. Brittany had not ended its war of succession, which had lasted for more than twenty years, and the kingdom was horribly trampled upon by the free companies. Charles V. managed to treat separately each of those serious matters.

The Norman fiefs of Charles *the Bad* gave the king the deepest anxiety. With his two towns of Mantes and Meulan, he barred the Seine, and he could by that means bring the English into the heart of France. Charles resolved to take those towns from him; and that first war

was conducted like every other during this reign, by means of craft and perfidy. Though Charles did not himself lead his troops, he luckily possessed good generals, and whilst he kept himself shut up in his palace, St. Pol, or in the Castle of Vincennes, his armies were led by such first-rate soldiers as the constable Du Guesclin, Boucicault, Olivier de Clisson, and others.

One morning, Boucicault presented himself, as ten of his followers had previously, at the barriers of Mantes, apparently terror-stricken and as pursued, and besought the townsmen to admit him, for the brigands of the Castle of Rolleboise had defeated him, he said, were pursuing him, and spared the Navarrese no more than the French. The townsmen were not without distrust, but Boucicault reassured them, by pledging them his faith, and so obtained entrance. Other pretended runaways arrived, and more after them, until, finding themselves in a considerable number, they seized the gates, cut their defenders in pieces, and took the town. An equally base perfidy delivered up Meulan to the French king, and the treatment inflicted upon the credulous townsmen was the same.

Bertrand Du Guesclin was a Breton gentleman who had already distinguished himself in the wars with the English. At the battle of Cocherel, in Normandy (1364), he put in practice the following stratagem. He ordered thirty knights, the bravest in his army, mounted upon thirty of the fleetest horses, to occupy themselves with one thing only, the seizure of the *Captal de Buch*, the Navarrese general. Having discovered that he was fighting on foot in the front rank, battle-axe in hand, they pounced upon him all at once, and bore him off the field at full gallop. This capture, and the English general having fallen mortally wounded, decided the defeat of the Navarrese army. Charles *the Bad* hastened to treat, or rather accept the essential condition which the King of France offered him, the exchange of his Normandy fiefs *against the barony of Montpellier*. There, at least, he would be far away from the English.

The war in Brittany which, with intervals, had continued so long, was at last brought to an end by the battle of Auray. In 1343, a truce had suspended hostilities till the end of 1346. In the following year, the son of De Montfort being still a child, Charles de Blois was taken prisoner; but, in 1364, the latter had regained his liberty. The young De Montfort had grown into manhood, and the war was renewed. The kings of France and England had reserved to themselves the right of aiding, without infringing the peace, the two pretenders who were disputing possession of the duchy. By virtue of this singular stipulation, the King of France placed at the service of Charles de Blois 1000 lances, with his good captain, Bertrand du Guesclin. The English, being desirous of doing their share, Jean de Montfort received from the Prince of Wales 200 lances, 200 archers, and a good number of knights, under the brave and prudent Chandos. The meeting took place near Auray (13th Sept. 1364). The English, with Montfort, posted themselves on an eminence, as at Poitiers and Cocherel. Du Guesclin would not have had the imprudence to attack them in that position, but was overruled by Charles de Blois, who was obstinately bent on fighting.

Thus forced to give battle, Du Guesclin made such a skilful disposition of his troops, that the English commander could not refrain from expressing his admiration. But Chandos was also an excellent soldier, who, besides the advantage of the position he had taken up, had provided a reserve to support those of his men who might fail. That precaution secured him the victory. Du Guesclin, in spite of all his valour and prudence, fell a prisoner into the hands of the enemy, and only obtained his liberty by payment of the heavy ransom of 100,000 livres (six million francs.) Charles was slain with the majority of the great nobles who surrounded him. This defeat, however, of the French party in Brittany had no very serious consequences. The king negotiated a treaty, by which Jean de Montfort was recognised as *Duke of Brittany*, and the widow of Charles of Blois

had only the province of Penthievre with the viscounty of Limoges.

In proportion as hostilities ceased in Normandy and Brittany, another scourge made itself seriously felt, that of the free companies, increased by all the disbanded soldiers. To rid the country of them, an attempt was made to entice them into a crusade against the Turks under the King of Hungary. But they found the distance too great, and retraced their steps. Another expedition suited them better: Castile was then groaning under Pedro *the Cruel*, who had poisoned his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, sister-in-law to the King of France. So, when a natural brother of Don Pedro, Henry of Transtamare, claimed the protection of France, Charles V. hastened to offer him, in order to dethrone his brother, the free companies, of which Du Guesclin, redeemed expressly from captivity, took the command. Pedro applied for aid to the Black Prince, who marched into Spain, and, on 3rd April 1367, encountered the army of Du Guesclin, near Najara. The superiority of the English archers, and the skill of John Chandos, secured to the Black Prince and his ally a victory which the French alone disputed with them for some time. Du Guesclin was again taken prisoner, Henry de Transtamare routed, Don Pedro re-established, and the Prince of Wales found himself master of a great part of Spain, as he had been, after Poitiers, of a large portion of France. This battle, though fatal to the cause of Transtamare, was a gain rather than a loss to Charles, who had entered into the war chiefly with a view of delivering his own country from the oppression of the free companies.

After this victory, difficulties beset the Black Prince through want of provisions and money to pay his Gascon troops. Being thus forced to impose heavy taxes upon his French subjects, they appealed to Charles V. for redress. The French king, as feudal superior, summoned the English prince to appear in Paris on a certain day, to answer the complaints before the peers. "We will *keep our appointment in Paris*," replied Edward, "since

we are bidden by the King of France; but it shall be with bassinet on head, and 60,000 troops for company." Charles V., however, as though he had no intention of breaking the treaty, even sent to Edward III., in token of firm friendship, a present of 50 pipes of wine. The English bravely refused to accept them. War was evidently inevitable.

The reason of Charles having the audacity to take such a decisive step was that he was ready, and his enemies were not. In 1369, he had accumulated money enough, established sufficient order in his realm and discipline in his armies, to venture to recommence the war. Charles V., therefore, sent Du Guesclin once more into Spain, where he defeated Don Pedro at the battle of Montiel (14th March 1369), and replaced upon the throne of Castile Henry of Trastamare, who, in gratitude, placed the Castilian fleet at the service of France.

Charles V. had carefully renewed that ancient and useful alliance between Scotland and France, to which the two nations attributed an existence already of 600 years. He made his brother Philip *the Bold*, duke of Burgundy, marry the heiress of the Flemish provinces, preferring to have a prince of his own blood in those territories to an English prince; and he secured to his side the King of Navarre, until then undecided, and overthrew in Castile the ally of England, Pedro *the Cruel*.

With this sheaf of alliances strongly bound together, Charles thought that the moment had come for France to tear up at last the shameful treaty of Bretigny; and, even believing himself strong enough to insult the English, he sent his defiance by a varlet of the kitchen, who presented himself at Westminster, and handed the letter to Edward III., as he sat in full Parliament. It intimated that the peers of France and the States-general had declared that Edward and his son not having appeared to Charles' summons, the duchy of Aquitaine and the other provinces of France ought to be and were confiscated.

The English landed at Calais (1369). A great French army, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy,

went to meet them, but refused any engagement, and steadily retreated as they advanced. The towns were carefully closed and well defended, so that the English being unable to capture them, their expedition was confined to uselessly ravaging the country. They returned in 1370, but the same system was inexorably followed out. The last expedition of the Black Prince was directed against Limoges, the bishop of which had treacherously betrayed the city to the French. This last treason greatly exasperated the English, and the prince swore a solemn oath that the traitors should pay dearly for it. Arrived before the place, he had a portion of the walls blown up, and the soldiers rushed through the breach into the streets. The prince, whose health was completely broken down, owing, it was suspected, to poison having been given him when in Spain, by the ungrateful Pedro *the Cruel*, was carried into the town on a litter. His temper, formerly mild and forgiving, had now, from the fever which preyed upon him, become irritable and vindictive. He ordered the town to be sacked, and showed no mercy to the inhabitants, 3000 of whom (men, women, and children) were put to the sword. The fury of the English was at length somewhat abated by the interest they took in a combat of three French knights who, with their backs against the corner of an old wall, were fighting, as in the lists, against the Duke of Lancaster and the Earls of Cambridge and Pembroke. The Prince of Wales stopped his litter close to them to enjoy the spectacle, and ordered quarter to be given them. He showed the like mercy to the bishop, the author of the treason. This melancholy exploit was the last in which the Black Prince figured (1370). He returned to England, where he languished for some time, and died in 1376.

From this time the power of the English rapidly declined in France. Another invasion, however, was undertaken in 1373, which proved worse than fruitless. The Duke of Lancaster landed at Calais with 30,000 men, thinking to conquer France, but only marched through it. It fared well enough whilst in the rich provinces of

the north, but in the poor and meagre central country privations and maladies commenced. In Auvergne, not a horse was left in the army; at Bordeaux, 6000 men only remained, and the knights, as well as the soldiers, begged their bread from door to door.

This time the English were disgusted with such a war. They did not return in the following year, but, in 1375, they demanded a truce, which was prolonged until the death of Edward III., in 1377. Charles then broke the truce, and struck blow upon blow. He brought five armies into the field and conquered all Guyenne, whilst a Castilian fleet, manned by Frenchmen, ravaged the coasts of Kent and Sussex. In 1380, the English had lost everything they possessed in France, excepting Brest, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Cherbourg, and Calais.

Charles essayed fruitlessly in Brittany the same policy which had been so successful in Guyenne. He summoned Duke John IV. to appear before the chamber of peers, and the duke not having presented himself, his fief was declared forfeited to the royal domains. But all the Bretons in the service of the French king, in great numbers abandoned him, and those even who at first promised to second his projects turned against him. The aged Du Guesclin, himself a Breton, returned him his constable's sword, and a treaty of alliance was signed at Westminster (1st March 1380) between England and Brittany. An English army landed at Calais under the Earl of Buckingham, and marched through the whole of northern France with impunity. It had not reached Brittany before Charles died at Vincennes, 16th September, 1380, in the forty-third year of his age, and sixteenth of his reign. He was one of the very few good kings France has had. By his great prudence he delivered his country from all its worst grievances, and left it in a more prosperous condition than it had for a long time known. The valiant Du Guesclin had died whilst besieging Randon, in the Lozere, two months before the death of Charles. The king was deeply grieved at the loss of the great soldier, and raised a magnificent monument to his memory in St. Denis.

In this reign Pope Gregory V. removed the papal see from Avignon to Rome.

Charles VI. (1380-1422).—The death of Charles *the Wise* was a calamity for France, his son being only twelve years old; and that boy fell into the hands of his uncles Anjou, Burgundy, and Berry, greedy princes, entirely preoccupied the one with the kingdom of Naples, of which Joanna had named him as her successor; the other, with the great fief of Flanders, of which he was destined to be heir; the third with his pleasures and his treasures. Charles VI. had another uncle on his mother's side, the Duke de Bourbon, an excellent prince, without influence, and a brother, the Duke of Orleans.

During the last moments of the late king, the Duke of Anjou, the eldest of his brothers, and who by that title was about to become regent, had kept himself concealed in an adjoining chamber. Scarcely had Charles expired, when the duke caused to be delivered up to him the crown jewels, the royal treasure, and by threatening with death the treasurer Savoisy, a hoard of ingots of gold and silver which had been sealed up, like stones, in the walls of the château of Melun, by masons who immediately afterwards disappeared. The year preceding, being governor of Languedoc, he had there caused an insurrection by his rapine; and, in Montpellier alone, he had condemned 200 citizens to the stake, 200 to the gibbet, 200 to be beheaded, 1800 to confiscation of goods, and the remainder of the city to a fine of 600,000 francs. The king had modified that atrocious sentence, and recalled the duke. It was, however, to this prince that the regency by right reverted. His brothers were equally grasping: the Duke of Burgundy adjudged to himself the government of Normandy and Picardy; whilst the Duke of Berry took Languedoc and Aquitaine. He had already Berry, Auvergne, and Poitou as an appanage: that is, one-third of the kingdom was delivered up to his rapacity.

The Duke of Berry had scarcely shown himself in his government ere civil war broke out. The pope inter-

posed and put an end to it; but he could not stop the executions and cruelties of the prince. The peasantry, despoiled by his soldiers, recommenced a sort of *jacquerie*. They fled to the mountains, especially on the side of the Cévennes, and thence, organised in armed bands, they rushed upon the nobles and rich, giving no quarter to those who had not hardened hands. They were called *tuchins*. The Flemish insurrection was still more serious.

It has been already said that Joanna, Queen of Naples, a descendant of Charles of Anjou, had adopted the Duke of Anjou as her heir. She did so in order to revenge herself on Charles Duzazzo, her nearest relation, who had dethroned her. Duzazzo was in the possession of the kingdom of Naples, but the Duke of Anjou resolved to assert his claim by force of arms. With his craftily obtained wealth he raised an army, and marched into Italy, where at first he gained some slight advantages; but they were soon followed by fatal reverses. By the destruction of his army, and the loss of his baggage, he was reduced to actual poverty and distress; one small silver cup being the only valuable remaining of the immense quantity of gold and silver that he had brought from France. The duke died some two years afterwards of vexation and disappointment. His son, however, assumed the title of Louis II. of Naples.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Burgundy had assumed the reins of power, and used them, as his brother had done, for his own purposes. His wife was heiress of the Earl of Flanders, against whom the Flemings had risen in the preceding reign on account of their French earl attempting to violate the municipal franchises of the country. Pierre Dubois and Philippe Arteveld, the son of the famous brewer, had directed with success the insurrection of the *White Hoods*, and the battle of Bruges, fought 3rd May 1382, had overthrown the last hopes of Earl Louis.

It appears that, for a quarter of a century, the spirit of revolt had throughout Europe stirred up the middle and lower classes. The enterprise of Rienzi at Rome,

that of Wat Tyler in England, then that of Etienne Marcel at Paris, next the "jacques," the "tuchins," and the *White Hoods!* The insurrection, stifled at one place, broke out in another, and it was to be feared, as Froissart said, "that all the gentility and nobility would have been slain and lost in France, and also in other countries."

The Dukes of Burgundy and Berry now engaged the young Charles VI. in a war with the Flemings, to quell the insurrection against Earl Louis. The French army won a great victory at Rosebec, leaving 26,000 dead on the field, and among them the entire battalion of Ghent with Arteveld. Flanders, however, was not crushed, but the French nobility had at length avenged the defeat at Courtray; and, to efface even the remembrance of it, they carried away from the churches the gold spurs of the knights slain in 1302, and set fire to the town, having first pillaged it. Charles, who had accompanied his army in person, was much elated at this his first success. In 1384, the Earl of Flanders died, and the Duke of Burgundy, his kinsman, inherited his vast domains. Henceforward, the house of Burgundy concentrated all its affection upon those rich provinces, and as it found means of aggrandising itself on that side at the expense of the small German princes, it forgot by degrees both the blood from which it sprung, and the France in which its grandeur had commenced.

The following year was employed in immense preparations for a descent upon England. Vessels enough were collected, says Froissart, to make a bridge from Calais to Dover: there were 1400. An entire town of wood even was constructed capable of being taken to pieces, in order that the French might carry with them an entrenched camp. But the favourable moment for the passage was allowed to pass by, and the project was forced to be abandoned after an enormous expenditure. Another expedition against the Duke of Gueldreland, who for a pension of 400 livres paid him by England, had sent the French king a challenge, cost still more, and produced nothing (1388).

The young king's uncles had purposely neglected his education, encouraging him in frivolous pursuits in order that they might carry on their ambitious schemes the more uninterruptedly. Charles was of a gentle and affectionate nature, though hasty and impetuous, and it is said that he never forgot a kindness, nor broke a promise. In 1388, being of age, he took the government of the realm into his own hands, deprived the Duke of Burgundy of his offices, and gave them to his brother, the Duke of Orleans. He recalled several of his father's old servants, and displaced the creatures of the dukes, his uncles. The voice of public opinion was then very feeble; he listened to it, however, and revoked several unjust laws and oppressive taxes, and showed every wish to rule his people with justice.

On his return from the German war, Charles summoned a great council at Rheims, and the young king demanded of those present to give him their advice touching the conduct of public affairs. Pierre de Montaigu, Cardinal of Laon, spoke first in praise of the king's good qualities, and exhorted him to thus commence the exercise of his omnipotence, in disposing at will, without taking counsel of any one, of all which related to the ministry of war and the economy of his household. Others supported the cardinal's advice: Charles VI. declared that he was determined to follow it, and thanked his uncles for the good services they had rendered him. The king had scarcely left Rheims, when the Cardinal of Laon died poisoned.

The old advisers of Charles V., "the little folks," the *marmosets*, as the great nobles disdainfully called them, headed by the Constable Olivier de Clisson, resumed as ministers of State the direction of affairs. The new government was wise, economical, the friend of order within and peace without the realm; but the king was only the more prodigal on that account. Deprived of the pleasures and excitement of war, he needed those of feasts and tournaments, and the court festivities were incessant. Enterprises the most serious became occasions for rejoicing: a journey made by the king in the southern

provinces, in order to put an end to the great schism which rent the Church, and to have an eye upon the disastrous administration of the Duke of Berry in Languedoc, was nothing more than a long festival in which excess of expense vied with excess of scandal. The ministers made efforts to combat these disorders, or lessen their disastrous effects; they economised the expenditure of the State to supply the prodigality of the king, and the State was still the gainer by that arrangement.

For four years these "little folks" had thus governed the kingdom, and during those four years the king's uncles and the greatest nobles of France had been removed from the management of affairs. These latter earnestly desired to put an end to such a system. An Angevine nobleman, Pierre de Craon, a mortal enemy of the chief of the "marmosets," the constable De Clisson, devoted his personal hatred to the service of the political resentments of the aristocracy. One night, on quitting the palace St. Pol after a banquet, the constable was attacked in the streets by Craon, who believing that he had slain his victim, fled for protection to the Duke of Brittany. Clisson, however, was only severely wounded, but the king swore that Craon should pay dearly for his treachery. The Duke of Brittany was summoned to give up the assassin; and, on his refusal, the king greatly exasperated, resolved to march in person into Brittany to punish his rebellious vassal.

Charles, early in August 1392, against the advice of his physicians, had led his army as far as Mans. The fierce summer's heat acting upon his impatient spirit, had thrown him into a feverish condition. As he traversed the forest apart from his troops, to avoid the dust, he was attended by only two pages, one of whom carried his lance and the other his helmet. Suddenly, a tall man clothed entirely in white rushed out of a thicket, seized the horse's bridle, shouting, "Stop, noble king!" pass not onwards, you are betrayed!" The figure then as quickly disappeared.

This sudden apparition greatly agitated Charles. A

little further on, the page who bore the lance falling asleep as he rode, the lance fell from his hand and struck the king's helmet with a clanging sound. The king, startled at the noise, and seized with a sudden frenzy, drew his sword, crying: "Upon the traitors!" He rushed with his drawn sword upon his brother the Duke of Orleans, who with difficulty avoided him, and would have killed or wounded several of his attendants had they not fled. At length, one of his knights sprang up behind him, and held him firmly by the arms until the rest had bound him tightly with cords, when he was placed in a cart and taken back to Mans, without having recognised any one.

Charles remained for some months in a state of frenzy. Some attributed his madness to sorcery, when they ought only to have accused the king himself. Master at twelve years old of that unlimited power which has often rendered delirious the strongest minds, he had, at twenty-four, exhausted every pleasure, every emotion, from the excitements of revelry to those of the battle-field; his constitution was ruined, his reason shaken: a violent shock deranged him wholly.

When some one expressed fear lest the king might be the victim of poison or sorcery: "No," replied the Duke of Berry, "he is neither poisoned nor bewitched, save by evil counsels." Those words embodied the fate of the "marmosets." Clisson was declared guilty of extortion and banished the realm, and a fine imposed upon him of 100,000 silver marks. The Sire de Montaigu, warned by his example, fled to Avignon, whilst others of his colleagues were arrested and flung into the Bastile.

The king's uncles, therefore, were again placed in full possession of the government; what did they do? The "marmosets" had greatly busied themselves with putting an end to the great schism, the princes laboured at it also, but with such success that very soon, instead of two popes, there were three. They signed a truce with England for twenty-eight years, in 1396, and gave in marriage to *Richard II.*, a daughter of Charles VI.; but,

in 1399, the English deposed, then strangled, it is said, their king, and that useful alliance was lost.

The government of the aristocracy was not successful; its acts discredited it abroad; its divisions weakened it at home.



AVIGNON.

Isabella of Bavaria was not fifteen when she left Germany to be married to Charles VI. Without parents or guide in the midst of a corrupt court, she caught its manners sooner than she learned its language, and was devoted to nothing but luxury and pleasure. Years neither rendered her conduct more regular, nor her thoughts more serious. Charged, after the king's insanity, with the guardianship of his person, she made use of the authority which the sad condition of her husband gave her to satisfy her passions, her vices, and her revenge. It will shortly be seen to what extent this queen was fatal to France.

The Duke of Burgundy, Philip *the Bold*, maintained himself in power until his death, in 1404. His son, Jean

the Fearless, desired to combine with his inheritance his influence in the government; but the Duke of Orleans, the king's brother, all-powerful with the queen, and master through her of the king and the Dauphin, head of the nobility, and a brilliant knight himself, had no idea of yielding power to any one. Between him and John *the Fearless* a rivalry soon arose, which threatened to merge into a civil war, even in the heart of Paris itself: each assembled his men-at-arms and fortified his palace; but as they were on the point of attacking each other, the old Duke of Berry interposed, brought Jean to the bedside of the Duke of Orleans, who was ill, made them embrace, take the holy communion, and eat together. This reconciliation took place on the 20th November 1407: on the 23rd, Louis of Orleans was assassinated by John *the Fearless*.

The Duchess of Orleans, Valentina of Milan, and her children called loudly for justice on the murderer, and Duke Jean was summoned to answer for his crime. He came, but attended with such a strong force of armed men, that the council found it necessary to acquit him. Afterwards, however, not feeling himself safe in Paris he withdrew to his possessions in Flanders, whence he caused it "to be said, preached and written" that he had only anticipated the snares of the Duke of Orleans. Charles, the young duke, entered a protest against the acquittal of his father's murderer, and called on all France to avenge his death. But the duke had made himself so odious, that the appeal of his son was unheeded: on the contrary, Jean *the Fearless* returned to Paris, promising the people a speedy abolition of taxes, and extorting from the king letters of pardon, by which Charles VI. was made to declare that he did not retain any displeasure against him for having put his brother to death. The Duchess of Orleans, the gentle and beautiful Valentina Visconti, took this injustice so much to heart, that she actually died of grief and shame.

The Duke of Orleans was not deserving of much regret. His government had been as deplorable as his

manners. He had declared war against England, but not waged it, merely using it as a pretext to increase the taxes, which he appropriated to himself. The Duke of Burgundy to render himself popular, strenuously opposed the new imposts; and to make the people have patience, but more especially to lay his hands on the rich spoils, he sent to the scaffold the minister of finance, Jean de Montaigu (1409), and restored to the Parisians their old free constitution. Thus he became extremely popular, and that popularity he increased, by showing the citizens, on every occasion, favours to which they were not accustomed. The party of the Burgundians, therefore, now gained the ascendancy in affairs; the opposite party were called Armagnacs. The young Duke of Orleans had married a daughter of the Count of Armagnac, and allowed himself to be governed by his father-in-law. Both parties endeavoured to possess themselves of the king's person, and to govern in his name. Thus, the king out of his senses, the queen despised and incapable, the Dauphin threatened by his excesses with the same fate as his father, the first prince of the blood sullied by an infamous murder, no government other than an oppression of the people, but parties in arms, war within and without—such was the state of France. She could only emerge therefrom by means of a catastrophe.

Whilst Armagnacs and Burgundians were fighting, the King of England, Henry V., was of opinion that the time had come for him to mingle in the fray. He had, moreover, need of a foreign war to strengthen him on the throne which his father had usurped.

Since the great pillaging of the previous century, a war with France was always popular in England. When, therefore, Henry proposed to revive the almost forgotten pretension of Edward III. to the crown of France, and undertake a serious expedition, he obtained easily from Parliament 6000 men-at-arms, and 24,000 archers, with whom he landed near Harfleur (14th August 1415). After an heroic defence, which lasted an entire month, *Harfleur*, unsuccoured, surrendered. But Henry V. had

lost 15,000 men, the half of his army. Too weak now to undertake anything, he determined to reach Calais by a march across the country, and thence to fling a new and insolent defiance to the French chivalry.

The English set out from Harfleur on the 8th October 1415, and traversed the country nearly to Calais without meeting with any serious molestation; but the heat of the weather, and the quantity of fruit which they had eaten on the march, had occasioned so much illness among them, that before Henry came up with the French army, his troops were greatly reduced in numbers. The French princes sent a herald to Henry to fix the day and place of battle, to which the king simply replied, "that it was not necessary to fix day or place, as every day would find him in the open country."

Notwithstanding this reply, the French feared that their enemies would escape them, and the more surely to intercept them, the French princes posted themselves between the villages of Tramecourt and Agincourt, at a spot which the English must necessarily pass—in a narrow valley between two woods, recently ploughed up and soaked with rain. The French outnumbered the English four to one. Henry expected instant battle; he exhorted his troops to do their duty; but the sun set, and there was no attack.

Early next morning, Henry, after hearing three masses, mounted his small grey horse, and made a judicious disposition of his little force, placing his archers in the front. The Constable d'Albret formed his army into three corps, reversing the English alignement, his files being from twenty to thirty men in depth. When the action began, the French knights and nobles rushed to the front in a disorderly manner, and being met by showers of arrows from the English archers, which pierced their horses, they were thrown into the utmost confusion. The archers then flung aside their bows, and fell upon them sword in hand. Henry advanced with his main body, a deadly struggle ensued, the first French line was broken, the second was soon reached. The contest becoming more a

slaughter than a battle, this terrible fight was soon over. The French nobles, who had borne the chief brunt of the day, suffered much more than the common soldiers. The Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Counts d'Eu, de Vendôme, and de Richemont, with 1500 other gentlemen, were taken prisoners; the constable himself and two of the Duke of Burgundy's brothers, with the Duke of Alençon, were amongst the slain. To these must be added 8000 knights, including 120 nobles bearing banners, besides thousands of common soldiers: of the English, only a few scores were killed. Too weak to improve his prodigious victory, Henry led his wearied troops to Calais, and thence, with the Duke of Orleans and other noble prisoners, he embarked for England.

The Duke of Burgundy had taken no part in the battle of Agincourt; it was his enemies who had undergone that disgraceful defeat. If he had made haste, he might have entered Paris as its master. The Count of Armagnac, the new constable, showed more promptitude. He took possession of the capital, of the king, of the Dauphin, who was still a youth, that is to say of the entire government. Charles, though only sixteen when he became Dauphin, took an active part in affairs; he joined the Armagnacs, and by his advice his mother, who had become infamous by her vices, was shut up in the castle at Tours.

The Count of Armagnac, in order to restore some popularity to his party, showed a laudable activity. He hired ships of the Genoese, and proposed to lay siege to Harfleur (1416). But money was wanting; he had recourse to the great resource of that day—the alteration of the coinage, and forced loans. John *the Fearless* became the patron of the poor.

Paris murmured. John *the Fearless*, to increase the fermentation, prevented the arrival of provisions into the great city. He had succeeded in carrying off from Tours Queen Isabella, and had declared her regent of the kingdom; he forbade the good towns, in his name, to pay the *taxes imposed by Armagnac*, and he negotiated with the *English*.

The latter had returned to France. Henry V. had taken Caen, Rouen, and several other towns, and as a conqueror who had nothing to fear, he had divided his army into four corps, in order to march faster if necessary. What had he, in fact, to fear? The Dukes of Brittany, Anjou, and Burgundy had signed treaties of neutrality with him. Armagnac could do nothing, for he was reduced to *borrow of the saints*, by melting their shrines. The men of his party forsook him, because they were not sufficiently paid; he was forced to let Paris be guarded by the Parisians, who hated him, and who betrayed him.

In the night of 29th May 1418, the wicket of the St. Germain gate was secretly opened by a partisan of the Duke of Burgundy, and a band of his followers entered the town, headed by the sire de Lisle-Adam, who rode through the streets shouting, "Peace and Burgundy!" A few of the Armagnacs succeeding in escaping, carrying with them the Dauphin; but the majority, and the constable among others, were thrown into prison. This was only the prelude to a general slaughter of all the Armagnacs. A few days afterwards, the populace attacked the prisons and slew indiscriminately all they found therein. Armagnacs or not, 1600 persons perished. The count himself was amongst the victims, and by way of amusement, the mob cut a large strip of skin from the constable's body to represent by way of mockery "the white scarf of the Armagnacs."

These terrible scenes had just taken place, when Duke John *the Fearless* returned with the queen to Paris, amidst the enthusiastic clamours of the multitude, who thought that they saw peace and abundance return with him. Vain hope! Neither the one nor the other depended upon the Duke of Burgundy. To all the other evils, on the contrary, was added an epidemic which swept away in Paris and its environs 50,000 victims. The populace arose once more and furiously attacked those unfortunates who had been overlooked in the prisons, or had been flung into them since the month of

June. On the 31st of August an immense mob was collected under the orders of the headsman Capeluche, whom the Duke of Burgundy confronted, entreated, and went so far as to grasp his hand without gaining anything. A fresh massacre took place. A few days afterwards, the duke sent this ferocious horde to besiege the Armagnacs shut up, he said, in Monthéry, and as soon as they had marched out, he closed the gates of Paris behind them and had Capeluche beheaded.

John *the Fearless* found himself again the master of the capital and of the government, but charged also with the overwhelming responsibility which that position involved. How was he to grapple with famine, and curb a populace broke loose? How resist those Armagnac partisans, who had the Dauphin in their hands, and who occupied all the country round Paris? How make head against the English who were steadily making a conquest of the kingdom?

On learning the fall of Rouen, all the towns and places in the province opened their gates. The infatuation of the English reached its height by the conquest of that large and wealthy province. In a conference held near Melun between Henry and Isabella, to proposals of peace which the Duke of Burgundy made him, Henry V. replied by imperious demands: a daughter of Charles VI. in marriage, and with her, Guyenne, Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, and as the duke hesitated, Henry said rudely: "Fair cousin, know that we will have the daughter of your king, and the rest, or will put you, him and you, out of this kingdom."

Repulsed on that side, John *the Fearless* turned once more towards the Armagnacs, and had a friendly interview with the Dauphin (afterwards Charles VII.). But his doubts and his rancour reviving, he addressed himself again to the English. Then the determined men who surrounded the Dauphin resolved to make an end, in their own way, with a prince who might at any moment deliver up the kingdom to a foreigner. On the 10th September 1419, the Duke of Burgundy, invited to an interview

with the Dauphin on the bridge of Montereau at the confluence of the Yonne and Seine, was there stabbed to death by Tanneguy Duchatel and the servitors of the prince.

The English king was at hand to gather the results of the crime which he had not committed. That which neither Crecy, nor Poitiers, nor Agincourt had done, the assassination on the bridge of Montereau did: it gave the crown of France to a king of England. That atrocious deed roused to revenge Philip *the Good*, the son of the murdered duke. He entered into a treaty with Henry V., in conjunction with Queen Isabella, who disinherited her son to crown her daughter. Philip, in the hope of for ever excluding the Dauphin from the throne of France, procured Henry to be declared regent during the life of Charles VI., and entitled to the succession after his death. Henry married the Princess Catherine; and the two kings of France and England, with their two queens, made a triumphant entry into Paris.

But the country did not sanction that base abandonment of its rights and the treason of that unnatural mother. The long and vigorous resistance experienced by the English before Sens, Meaux, Melun and other strongholds, taught Henry V. that he must possess himself of the whole of France. He foresaw the embarrassment of his position, and, when he should be no more, the fate of a conquest so laborious. When, already ailing, it was announced to him, during the siege of Meaux, that his young queen had given birth to a son at Windsor Castle, he remarked sorrowfully: "Henry of Monmouth will have reigned little and conquered much: Henry of Windsor will reign long and lose all. The will of God be done."

Both parts of the prediction were destined to be accomplished, and the first ere long. Although still young, Henry expired on the 14th August 1422. Seven weeks afterwards, Charles VI. in his turn, died, wept and regretted by the compassionate populace to whom, however, his reign had been so fatal, but who had seen him suffer like themselves.

Charles VII., surnamed *the Victorious* (1422-1461)—Henry VI. and Charles VII.—On the 10th November 1422, the body of Charles VI. had descended almost without ceremony into the vaults of St. Denis. He had lived fifty-five years and reigned forty-two, thirty of which he had passed in a state of almost constant insanity. The king, proclaimed at St. Denis, was an infant ten months old, grandson, on his mother's side, of Charles VI., and in whose name his uncles were about to govern: the Duke of Bedford, France; the Duke of Gloucester, England.

The king proclaimed in Berry, the only surviving son of Charles VI., was a young man of nineteen, of graceful manners but feeble frame, pale-faced, of little courage, and always dreading a violent death; for the rest, says a contemporary, “he was a good Latinist, a lively storyteller, and very wise in council.” He might have been the latter later on, but at nineteen, and during many years afterwards, he merely showed alacrity for pleasure, and dullness in the face of danger or business. His authority was only recognised in Touraine, the Orléanais, Berry, the Bourbonnais, Auvergne, Languedoc, Dauphiny, and the Lyonnais.

Two defeats, the one at Crevant, the other at Verneuil, inaugurated the reign of Charles VII., and served to ruin all his hopes in the north of France. He seemed indifferent to it, and resigned to hear himself called derisively “the King of Bourges.” He had transported to Poitiers his council, parliament, and university. But Bourges and Poitiers were still cities too large for him; he trailed his little court from château to château, devoted entirely to the sires de Giac, de Beaulieu, and de la Trémouille, submitting willingly to the all-powerful influence of his mother-in-law, Yolande of Sicily, and notwithstanding that precarious position, still formidable to the English.

The regent Bedford had for some time vigorously carried on military operations, and the English were becoming more and more masters of the country. In June 1428, *the Earl of Salisbury* had landed at Calais with 6000 good

English troops. To them Bedford added 4000 soldiers from the garrisons of Normandy, and this army reducing stronghold after stronghold on its march, thus fought its way to Orleans.

Orleans was now the only remaining town of importance which Charles possessed. It was the portal of Berry, Bourbonnais, and Poitou. If taken, the King of Bourges would be left king only of Languedoc and Dauphiny. On 12th October 1428, the English forces, commanded by the Earl of Salisbury, laid siege to it. He began operations by erecting a number of towers round the place, the command of which was confined to the Earl of Suffolk, the English Achilles, Lord Talbot, and others among the bravest leaders of the army. From the imperfect investment of the town, however, the Count Dunois, who commanded Charles's troops, contrived to throw in succour from time to time, until by degrees the garrison numbered 7000, under some of the best French knights. By this means Orleans was enabled to hold out many months, during which the brave Salisbury was slain by a chance cannon-shot, and his command given to the Earl of Suffolk.

However, neither the lucky cannon-shots nor the jeers of the Orleannais disconcerted British tenacity. The English added each week a new tower to those which they had constructed, and were rapidly enclosing the town all round, in order to reduce it by famine. Provisions, had for the last four months, been scarce on both sides, and Lent being near, the Duke of Bedford despatched from Paris, under the conduct of Sir John Falstaff, 2500 soldiers and 300 waggons of provisions and munitions, with great store of salted herrings. The Count of Clermont, eldest son of the Duke de Bourbon, sallied out of Orleans, at the head of 5000 men to attack the convoy, but was driven back with great loss. This skirmish was called *the battle of the herrings*, and the loss of it reduced the French to despair.

The position of the town becoming daily more serious, the besieged began to treat for a surrender, but that they might not fall into the hands of the English they offered

to yield up their city to the Duke of Burgundy. Philip *the Good* very willingly agreed to the proposal, and hastened to transmit it to the Duke of Bedford. To this, however, the regent would not consent, remarking acrimoniously that "he did not understand beating the bushes in order that another might take the birds."

At this moment, when the fortunes of Charles VII. seemed utterly hopeless, a sudden revolution was effected in them by one of the most singular occurrences recorded in history.

The sufferings France was then enduring proceeded from a variety of causes, but the people believed in one only—the English. To drive out the English, therefore, became the daily engrossing thought, and man proving incapable, they looked to Heaven to do it. That opinion established itself by degrees from one end of France to the other: that the kingdom—betrayed, delivered up to the foreigner by a woman, by a queen, by the unworthy Isabella of Bavaria—should be saved, delivered by a daughter of the people, by a virgin from Lorraine. That heroic daughter of the people, that liberating virgin, was Joan of Arc.

In 1429, Joan appears to have been fully convinced that to her was given the power to restore the kingdom to Charles VII. She was remarkable for her early piety, and her talents, though uneducated, were considerable; and she evidently believed herself divinely commissioned to rescue her fallen country. By her enthusiastic and almost superhuman exertions, Charles VII. did, in a series of skirmishes and battles, obtain full possession of his kingdom; and in eleven days she had stricken dismay into an army which had been the terror of France for eleven years. Charles VII. was crowned in her presence in the ancient church of Rheims (17th July 1430). This heroic girl afterwards fell into the hands of the English, and to their lasting shame, was delivered up for trial to an ecclesiastical tribunal, on a charge of heresy and schism, and burnt at Rouen, as a witch, in her nineteenth year (*30th May 1431*).

Although the war still went on, it was no longer waged with its former vigour. Charles had many brave captains, but no generals; and though he had shown himself at intervals capable in the field, his habitual indolence made the occasions very rare. The inactivity on the part of the English was mainly owing to a quarrel between the regent's brother, Gloucester, and the Duke of Burgundy, whose alliance had been of great importance to them. To render the young King Henry popular, the regent had him crowned a second time in Paris. But the ceremony was injudiciously conducted: English nobles alone presided, not a single French prince being present. There was no liberation of prisoners, no reduction of taxes, no largesse to the people. A universal discontent was the result of a ceremony intended to arouse a favourable feeling towards Henry VI.; and the Parisians once more fixed their hopes upon their own monarch.

The tide of war now turned in favour of the French. The Duke of Burgundy deserted the English, and made a separate peace with Charles. The treaty of Arras gave Paris to the King of France. Lord Willoughby and the 15,000 English who formed the garrison shut themselves up in the Bastile. The French commander was very desirous of making the English noblemen prisoners, estimating their ransom at 200,000 livres, but he had none of the materials necessary for a siege. The English offered to deliver up the Bastile on the condition that they should be allowed to retire with their belongings, and those who desired to follow them. The capitulation was accepted. They marched out by the gate St. Antoine, made the tour of the ramparts, amidst the hootings of the populace, and embarked on the Seine, on their way to Rouen.

The peace of Arras was welcomed throughout France with the liveliest expression of joy. On the other hand, to the regent Bedford it proved such a blow, that the vexation consequent upon the frustration of his policy caused his death shortly after its signature. Paris having thus thrown off the English yoke, and returned to a sense

of its duty, Charles VII. made his public entry into the capital, after a banishment of seventeen years.

From this time the English affairs became totally irretrievable. Thus ground was steadily, though slowly, gained by the French. A reformation in the royal forces now seemed so urgent that Charles, being aroused from his torpor, did not even wait until the end of the war to take it in hand. He convoked the States-general at Orleans, and demanded their co-operation with him in an enterprise the boldest and most difficult, the reorganization of his army. The States voted a perpetual tax of 1,200,000 livres for payment of the soldiery, and an ordinance, moreover, conferred most extensive powers on the king in other respects. This ordinance of 1439 was a complete revolution, for it brought back the military forces of the kingdom under the grasp of the sovereign. Thus many intrigues were set on foot. The barons and the captains of the free companies declared that it was the reversal of all order, and that it was necessary to replace at the soonest possible opportunity such a prince by the Dauphin Louis, his son, a young man of seventeen, who showed, they said, precocious talents. They little suspected the sort of talents he would one day show!

Impatient to reign, the Dauphin lent himself willingly to these intrigues. This young prince (afterwards Louis XI.) had early shown a disobedient and malignant temper. When not more than sixteen, he had joined some discontented nobles in a conspiracy against the king. Charles forgave him for this treason on account of his youth, and received him into favour as before. He now joined the dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, the counts of Vendôme and Dunois, and the chief captains of the free companies, who, together, placed themselves at the head of the rebellion. It was an insurrection of all the nobility against royalty, headed by the Dauphin. Charles acted with great promptitude and vigour, marching instantly against the rebellious strongholds. Throughout Poitou the citizens declared for the king, and those places fell, *one after another*, into his hands. In the Bourbonnais,

in Auvergne, as in Poitou, the citizens were for the king against the nobles. The states of Auvergne declared that they would devote themselves body and goods to that sovereign who was the protector of the poor against the vexations of the licentious soldiery, and furnished him with money. The dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, and the Dauphin saw plainly that they must not only submit but implore pardon. They went in search of Charles VII., knelt down before him, and entreated his mercy. He generously told them that he would allow them to return to their several abodes without molestation. This prompt submission of the rebels, and this agreement between the townspeople and royalty was a warning to the whole aristocracy.

The king, to prove that he was ready for any event, marched his forces towards the north, and made his royal justice felt upon the frontier. He did this without relaxing for a moment the war against the English, taking from them Meaux and Pontoise in the centre, Dieppe in the north, and separating from them their allies of the south, the Counts d'Albret, de Foix, and Armagnac; obliging the hitherto disdainful English to solicit a truce (1444), and the hand of a French princess, Margaret of Anjou, for their young King Henry VI.; placing finally at their gates a new enemy by the marriage of the Dauphin Louis with Margaret of Scotland, daughter of James I.

Two expeditions, the one directed against the Swiss, the other against Messina, served to rid Charles of the most mutinous of the free adventurers, and allowed him to subject the rest to a rigorous discipline. He thus found himself in possession of a chosen body of 9000 cavalry, embodied in regiments. By another ordinance, the king also gave to France a force of which it had great need, a regular and permanent infantry. All these reforms had been subordinate to another, that of finance, commenced by Jacques Cœur, in 1443.

These reforms accomplished, Charles found himself strong enough to bring the war with the English to an

end. All Normandy was conquered within the space of a year. The government of Henry VI., or rather that of Margaret of Anjou, had need of a great success abroad in order to restore its influence at home. Talbot, then in his eightieth year, who alone remained of all Henry's brave generals, made a last effort to redeem the honour and interests of his country by bringing Guyenne once more under English sway. He was at first successful, the inhabitants of Bordeaux themselves admitting the English into their city, and as almost all the country followed that example, the King of France had to recommence its conquest. In July 1453, an action was fought under the walls of Castillon, in which Talbot and his son were slain. This defeat was followed by the complete ruin of the English. On the 19th October, Charles VII. entered Bordeaux in triumph. The hundred years' war was ended, and of all their conquests in France nothing remained to the English except Calais and two small neighbouring towns.

Though Charles *the Victorious* had thus at length reconquered his realm, he had yet to contend with the enmity of certain feudatories, who looked with no favourable eye upon the progress of French royalty; that royalty which, instead of tournaments and festivities, made laws, organised finances, reformed armies, and drove out the English. Without breaking openly with the king, the Duke of Burgundy had become the protector of all the malcontents. But a more dangerous enemy was the heir to the throne, that Dauphin Louis who, as has been seen, figured when sixteen years old only, as the head of a great aristocratic conspiracy against his father. Charles, to give occupation to that restless spirit, sent him into Dauphiny, his appanage. There he busied himself with what he considered ameliorations, very often changing things merely for the sake of change, intriguing with everybody, with the king's ministers, with the dukes of Alençon and Burgundy, and surrounding himself with all those who were odious to Charles VII.; as dangerous, *in short*, in Dauphiny as he had been in France.

The government of Charles acted promptly and vigorously, despatching a body of troops under Chabannes, the king's favourite, to the frontiers of Dauphiny, whilst Charles himself marched with an army to Lyons. Disconcerted by this promptitude, the Dauphin mounted his horse, and with six attendants fled into Franche-Comté, whence he went to seek an asylum in the court of the Duke of Burgundy.

At the French court great uneasiness prevailed. Louis, from his retreat at Genappe, intrigued throughout the kingdom, wrote the most submissive letters to his father, but in reality with the intention of estranging his ministers from him. The league of the dukes of Alençon and Burgundy with the Dauphin threw Charles into a settled melancholy. He was enfeebled by disorders which had not ceased with his mature age. He had an incurable abscess in the mouth, the agony of which was at times intolerable. In the wanderings of delirium, mingled with the apprehensions of poison which he had conceived, he refused all nourishment, or probably from the nature of his malady he was unable to take any, and died, 22nd July 1461. He was fifty-nine years old, and had reigned thirty-nine years. He married Mary of Anjou, daughter of Louis II., titular King of Naples, and had two sons and four daughters.

SEVENTH PERIOD.

THE LAST VICTORY OF ROYALTY OVER THE FEUDAL ARISTOCRACY.

Louis XI. (1461-1472).—Louis was in his thirty-ninth year when the news of his father's death reached him in Brabant, whilst the guest, the friend, the "gossip" of the Duke of Burgundy. From that hospitable court he took his instant departure, lest any attempt should be made to place his younger brother on the throne. All the Burgundian nobility mounted on horseback to escort that "king of the nobles" to his realm, for feudality fancied itself saved by the accession of the Dauphin. "I will do my best," said Philip *the Good*, "to conduct the French king to his consecration at the head of 100,000 men;" and forth the king and duke rode attended by a valiant court and most magnificent retinue to Rheims, where Louis was crowned by the archbishop.

Louis had re-entered France so poorly clad, and with words so humble, that the real king, to all appearance, was Duke Philip *the Good*. At least, he was protector of the king, he who had welcomed him in his extremity: therefore Louis refused him nothing. To do him honour, he made him nominate eighty members of Parliament, of which, it is true, not one ever took his seat. He granted to him the free transmission of merchandise from one frontier to the other, under the condition that Parliament should register the concession, but the Parliament never did. He granted a pardon to the Duke of Alençon, but kept possession of the children and strongholds of that prince. The Duke of Burgundy returned home, loaded with honours and fair words, but ruined.

From Rheims, Louis went directly to Paris, escorted by a force of thirteen or fourteen thousand soldiers, which secured him from all opposition.

Then Louis XI. found himself at home, set to work and began in earnest that reign which, in whatsoever manner we may judge of the king himself, must be reckoned as one of the most important in history. That reign opened amidst circumstances the happiest externally. Not one of the states bordering on France was in a condition to thwart Louis XI. in what he was about to undertake. England, engaged in the terrible War of the Roses, was for a long time unable to intervene seriously in the affairs of France. Spain was divided; Germany powerless, thanks to its anarchical constitution; Italy had not been for several centuries formidable to any state.

But if Louis XI. was secure from encountering any great embarrassment from without, the interior of his realm offered him much: for feudalism still possessed considerable strength. It had at its head an aristocracy of appanaged princes, related more or less to the French kings, powerful families, rich by their vast domains, proud of their origin, and formidable by their pretensions to a royal independence. The first political act of Louis was to deprive his brother of everything his father had given him, excepting the province of Berry. He dismissed his father's ministers, as well as the chief officers of the household, and replaced them by men of low birth and mean habits, who, he thought, would be more subservient to his will than he could expect persons of higher station to be.

The aristocracy was still more menaced. It saw the king confer titles of nobility on consuls of small towns, on mayors of boroughs, and to defend agriculture against seigneurial recreations, attacked the privileges of seignories by forbidding any one to hunt, except the princes, under corporal and pecuniary penalties. These and many other inimical measures excited the indignation of the nobles, and a league, called the *League of the Public Good*,

was formed against the king, at the head of which were the dukes of Berry and Brittany. Louis had not reigned four years when every one's hand was against him. The people burdened with many taxes, levied for the exigencies of a government which they did not yet understand; the middle class injured in its particular interests, of which it was unwilling to make the sacrifice for the general good; the clergy threatened as to their property, the small nobles in their most cherished rights and customs, the high aristocracy in its sovereign pretensions, all these classes, so widely different, so often hostile one towards another, were momentarily about to agree on one point—to limit and shackle the royal authority.

The Count of Charolois, the Duke of Burgundy's eldest son, also joined this confederacy. His father, Philip *the Good*, in 1465, having sunk into a condition of imbecility, from which he never recovered during the last two years of his life, the Count of Charolois, Charles *the Bold*, had taken the direction of affairs. His fiery and impetuous nature revolted against the cold-blooded, ungrateful Louis, who unmindful of all his obligations to the house of Burgundy, secretly tampered with the duke's ministers to weaken and impair it.

Louis having written to the Duke of Bourbon, begging him to hasten to his assistance with 100 lances, the duke wrote the king a significant refusal, and circulated copies of his letter (13th March 1465). On the 15th, the Duke of Berry issued a manifesto against the government of his brother; and on the 22nd, the Duke of Brittany, Francis II., declared himself the enemy of every enemy of the Duke of Burgundy, "without excepting my lord the king." Next came the hostile declarations of the nobility. Every one was eager to take part in the *League of the Public Good*.

This coalition agreed to assemble its forces before Paris. The king, after crushing an insurrection in the Bourbonnais, was at this time hastening to Paris with his army, with the intention of throwing himself into the capital before the confederates should have joined their

forces. His army and that of Charolois met unexpectedly near Montlheri, and a battle ensued. The victory was so undecided that both parties claimed it. Louis, whose main object was to reach Paris, did not stay to follow up any advantage he might have gained, and left Charles in possession of the field, boasting of being the victor. Once inside Paris, he armed the citizens, and accepted a council of their own choosing, six being citizens, six members of Parliament, and six clerks of the university. He also decreed a reversion of taxes, and took every other means of gaining over Paris, believing that if he had Paris he would have France, whatsoever might happen.

Although the confederates at length mustered 100,000 men, they neither acted in unison nor promptly. Personally brave as Louis XI. was, his combats by choice were those fought out by strength of mind, finesse, and cunning. Thus he negotiated, parleyed incessantly; seeking to divide by stratagem those princes who agreed so badly together, and sparing neither money nor promises; so the league came to nothing, some of them already feeling sure of selling themselves to the king. The name of "market" was given to the theatre of these negotiations between Charenton and St. Antoine; each might there make his price; and several had it. One required money, another domains, and one the constable's sword; nothing was refused: and the king already saw the League dissolved by his address, the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy isolated, perhaps enemies.

Having accomplished this great object, and at little more expense than that of a few promises, and with no other loss than that of his honour—a loss which he but little regarded—Louis made a treaty with the confederates, called the Peace of Conflans (1465). "The Normans desire a duke," said the king; "eh, well! they shall have one." That duke was his brother. And all the rest shared as largely. All this was not exactly for the Public Good.

Such a treaty strictly executed would have been the

finally, if the news were perfectly true, the safety of Louis XI. was still guaranteed by the terms of the safe conduct.

The fiery Charles, nevertheless, became furiously angry, and instantly ordered the gates of the castle to be closed and strictly guarded, thus making the king a prisoner. Louis, however, did not let his presence of mind forsake him in this emergency. He began to consider how he might extricate himself, and found means to send tempting messages and rich presents to those of the duke's attendants who, he supposed, had most influence with their master. Meanwhile, Charles was in a state of mind scarcely more enviable than that of Louis. On the first day he was almost like a madman, and it seemed as if nothing would appease him but the death of his prisoner. On the second day he became more calm, and held a council on the conduct to be observed towards Louis XI. The council lasted during the greater part of the day, and part of the night, but without coming to any determination. Charles was sometimes inclined to keep the king a prisoner for life, at other times he seemed as if he only wanted a little encouragement from his council to put him to death at once. But then his brother Charles (duke of Berry) would ascend the throne in his place, and that brother at that moment was the friend, the ally, the guest of the Duke of Brittany. Was it worth while to render himself guilty of such a crime merely to place the crown on the head of a prince devoted to Breton influence? It were better to extort important concessions from the king, humiliate him, and by that humiliation, ruin him in public opinion: the calculation was as bad as the action was disloyal.

Charles at length became more reasonable, and so far pacified as to consent that the king should have his liberty, on conditions which were sufficiently humiliating, but with which Louis was glad enough to comply. One of these conditions was, that he should give up to his brother Champagne and Brie; another was, that he should accompany the duke to Liege to suppress the

revolt. To cede Champagne to his brother was to give it to Charles *the Bold*, who would thereby find that communication, so desirable for him, between his states of Flanders and of Burgundy. To march against Liege, which bore his flag, was a baseness. But the princes of that age placed success in the foreground, honour behind. Louis XI., therefore, followed Charles to the siege, and there fought bravely.

Once more safe in Paris, Louis thought only of effacing the remembrance of his captivity by annulling the unlucky treaty necessity had forced from him at Peronne. Not choosing to give to his brother Champagne and Brie, a territory which would place him near his ally Charles *the Bold*, he persuaded him to accept the rich and fertile province of Guyenne instead. Charles was violently enraged at this infringement of the treaty, and was on the point of enforcing the observance of it, when the death of the Duke of Berry, in 1471, removed the object of the dispute, although it did not prevent the war breaking out.

The Duke of Berry's death was attributed to his having eaten part of a poisoned peach, and Louis was strongly suspected of having contrived, or at least connived at it. Nothing was ever proved to confirm or remove that suspicion, but Charles acted on the belief that it was a true one, and to avenge his friend's death, swore that he would carry on the war ruthlessly. He kept his word. Having halted before the small town of Nesle, he effected an entrance by declaring a capitulation, already commenced, broken, and gave an order to slay every soul therein. Men, women, and children, having taken refuge in the great church, they were therein massacred. The duke rode into the edifice on horseback, and seeing how thoroughly his order had been obeyed, made the sign of the cross, exclaiming, "By St. George, my lads, you have made here a glorious butchery!" The floor of the church was six inches deep with blood. Such was the atonement made by the unoffending inhabitants of Nesle, for a crime imputed to their cold-blooded monarch.

Charles next attacked Beauvais, but suffered a repulse, the townspeople having valiantly sustained an assault which lasted eleven hours. He thought to have carried the place at the first blow, but not being prepared for a siege, he struck his tents and marched towards Normandy, burning all the small towns on his way, but closely followed by the French, who cut off his supplies. Having reached Rouen, where he expected to be joined by the Duke of Brittany, he remained four days under its walls; then, accusing François II. of having failed in his promise, he withdrew into his own territories.

This war, with the interruption of occasional truces, continued many years. The treaty of Peronne, by which it was thought to bring the king so low, was torn up; the disgrace of Liege was compensated, in the eyes of Louis XI., by the shame of Beauvais. And if the crafty king had succeeded in emerging with so much address from such an evil strait, what dare he not do in future with greater resources and less embarrassment?

Charles *the Bold*, nevertheless, continued to wage his wars of aggression with more or less success on all sides. In 1475, he had engaged himself in one in which he strove to sustain against the pope and the German emperor, Frederick III., the Archbishop of Cologne, Robert of Bavaria, who had named Charles protector of his electorate. The latter was besieging the small town of Neuss, near Cologne; but, situated on a rock and well defended, Neuss resisted eleven months. The arrival of an immense German army forced the duke to raise the siege.

Thus the terrible prince fell back baffled and insulted. The Swiss had defied him, the Duke of Lorraine defied him. The King of France had stripped him of his towns in Picardy, and was advancing in Artois; and he upon whom he had reckoned to keep Louis XI. in check, signed a treaty of peace with France.

On setting out for Germany, Charles had pressed Edward IV. of England to make a descent upon France. War suited the latter as a means of rallying round him

all those parties whose contentions were troubling his kingdom; and, with the concurrence of the Duke of Burgundy and the constable Saint-Pol, he reckoned upon a short and glorious campaign. He landed at Calais at the head of a magnificent army, demanding the French crown as belonging to him by inheritance, and thinking to find the duke there with all his forces. Charles joined him shortly afterwards, almost alone, to tell him that he would attack on another side, by Lorraine, and that the constable would throw open to him his fortresses, the gates of France; and thereupon he departed. The English king, upon this assurance, marched forwards as far as the Somme, and on halting before Saint Quentin, was fired upon by the constable. This perfidious man had sold himself to two masters, betraying the secrets of the one to the other, and deceiving both. His chief object was to promote the war between France and Burgundy, because during a time of war his emoluments as constable were enhanced. At last his treachery became so evident, that both Charles and Louis were equally convinced of it. They therefore mutually agreed that whichever of them should first seize upon the constable should either put him to death in eight days, or else give him up to the other. Hearing of this, Saint-Pol had shut himself up in St. Quentin, where he remained for some time in security. At last, thinking he was not safe from Louis in that town, he determined to throw himself upon the generosity of the Duke of Burgundy, and obtaining a safe-conduct from him, he sought refuge in his territories. Louis instantly claimed the traitor, and Charles delivered him up. He was taken to Paris, condemned, and executed (19th Dec. 1475).

Edward IV. of England was greatly irritated against those who, having invited him abroad, had given him such a reception. Louis also trembled at the thought of an English army in his kingdom, and resolved to spare no pains to get rid of it. He began by bribing the herald who had brought Edward's defiance, with 300 crowns and 20 ells of velvet, and fine promises, if peace

were made; next some of the English nobles, and at length the king himself. After feasting the English right royally at Amiens, a treaty was concluded at Pecquigny, in which Louis agreed to pay Edward 75,000 crowns for the expenses of the war, and an annuity of 50,000, and that the Dauphin should marry the King of England's eldest daughter. These feasts and stipulations had nothing heroic in them, but they proved very useful. Louis looked only to the result—the departure of Edward and his host. The French people gave this peace the name of the *Merchant's Truce*.

As this treaty greatly offended the Duke of Burgundy, he refused to be a party to it. He, however, soon afterwards made a truce with Louis for nine years. He was urged to this by his ambition prompting him to turn his arms against his other neighbours. He attacked the Duke of Lorraine, and dispossessed him of his dominions. He invaded Savoy, and next attempted to subjugate the Swiss; but from those "cow-herds of the Alps," as he contemptuously called them, he met with an unexpected repulse. He attacked them in midwinter with an army of 18,000 men, who had just made two fatiguing campaigns. On 18th Feb. 1476, he assailed the little town of Grandson; but the place still held out on the 28th. To induce the defenders to surrender, he promised them their lives, and when they gave themselves up, he caused them to be hanged upon a walnut tree.

The news of this perfidy aroused the whole of Switzerland. The confederated army of the cantons went in search of the Burgundian troops, and found them massed in a narrow plain, where neither artillery nor cavalry could manoeuvre. The Swiss foot soldiers, armed with pikes 18 feet long, made short work of their hampered enemies. An unexpected arrival of cantonal forces changed the movement to the rear of the Burgundians into a panic, and all the efforts of the duke could not suffice to stop the rout. Though the loss was inconsiderable, his prestige was gone: Charles of Burgundy was *no longer Charles the Invincible*; he had fled. His

sword, his tent, his diamonds, his ducal seal, his collar of the Golden Fleece, remained in the hands of the Swiss — “those rustics,” as he called them.

This defeat, instead of checking his ambitious projects, merely made him pursue them more rashly. He thought only of vengeance. With an inadequate force, against all advice, he made another impetuous attack on the Swiss, and was defeated with a loss of from 8000 to 10,000 men.

Conquered and a fugitive, he convoked the states of Franche-Comté, Burgundy, and Flanders; but only to receive on all sides humiliating refusals, to hear bitter and insulting words. His enemies took advantage of his disaster, and he had now to make head against the Swiss, Louis XI., and René de Vaudemont all at once. An attack upon Nancy by the latter, his feeblest adversary, he felt most acutely. He had intended Nancy to be the capital of his future kingdom. He hastened to save the place, and arrived under its walls on the 22nd October. He was too late: the town had been taken three days previously. But it had neither garrison nor provisions, and by keeping a strict blockade, Charles hoped to retake it shortly.

His enemies displayed as much activity as he did obstinacy. René hired Swiss and German mercenaries. The Duke of Lorraine joined him with 20,000 men. Charles had only 4000 soldiers. Nevertheless, no remonstrance could induce him to raise the siege. “If it must be,” said he, “I will fight alone.” On Sunday, January 5, 1477, he marched to the encounter during a heavy snow-storm, expecting to perish rather than conquer. In a few moments the little Burgundian army was dispersed, taken, or slain. The duke himself was killed by an unknown foe. The next day one of his pages recognised his mutilated body.

The Flemings, ill-treated by Charles *the Bold*, looked upon his death as a veritable deliverance. By it his vast possessions, which extended from the northern limits of Holland to the frontiers of Switzerland, descended to

his only child Mary, then in her twentieth year. On the news of the duke's death arriving at Ghent, the citizens took the government into their own hands, slew the magistrates, and refused to acknowledge the young duchess's authority. Young and inexperienced, Mary placed her chief confidence in her mother-in-law, Margaret of York, and a few old adherents of her family. The Flemings thought to marry the young princess as they chose, and at the outset, made her promise that she would only govern by the Council of the States of Flanders. She promised, but at the same time she wrote to her godfather, Louis XI., that her two counsellors would be two Burgundians, servants of her late father, the chancellor Hugonet, and the sire d'Humbercourt. Louis, acting with his wonted treachery, showed that letter to the deputies of Ghent, and the populace, infuriated against the two counsellors, clamoured for their death. The duchess implored and entreated that their lives might be spared, but her prayers were useless. They were executed almost in her sight. She never forgave Louis XI. the humiliation he made her undergo, and, in spite of the King of France, and of her own subjects, who wished to make her marry the parricide, Adolph of Gueldres, she gave herself and her rich inheritance to Maximilian of Austria, one of the numerous princes to whom her father had promised her hand.

Amongst those princely marriages which history dignifies on account of the greatness of their consequences, figures in the first rank that of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy. Their son, Philip *the Fair*, married the heiress of Castile and Aragon; thus the Spanish, Burgundian, and Austrian possessions were found united in one single hand, whence arose the monstrous power of Charles V., the struggle of France, the struggle of Europe against the house of Austria.

Louis XI., now stricken with palsy, and declining rapidly in bodily health, had formed so great a dread of the nobles and princes of the blood, that he shut himself up in his prison-fortress of Plessis, near Tours. Here

the crafty old king, although conscious that death was approaching, still filled Europe with his activity of mind, increasing in his mistrust and cruelties as he became more enfeebled, and clinging with all his might to life and power. His right hand paralysed, this moribund monarch touched with his left hand or right elbow, the treaties which gave him the four fine provinces of Picardy and Artois with the earldom of Boulogne, the duchy and earldom of Burgundy with Charolais and Auxerre. A lawsuit had brought him the duchy of Alençon and Perche; the death of his brother, Guyenne; and his intervention in the affairs of Spain, Roussillon and Cerdagne. Thus eleven provinces were reunited to the domains of the crown during a single reign. It was an immense step towards unity of territory, and a decisive blow dealt against the power of the great feudatories. Aristocracy was vanquished, royalty released from thralldom; and to avoid fresh troubles, the king employed only mean persons about him, his barber and his hangman, whom he could easily replunge into the obscurity whence he had drawn them.

Thus the King of France, dying in his sixty-first year, made incredible efforts to attach himself to life. But the time had arrived when, instead of enjoying, as he had hoped, the fruits of his labours, he was to pay the penalty of his crimes. The nearer death approached, the more his dread of it increased. To ward it off he had recourse to every kind of superstition. He induced the King of Naples to send him "the good holy man, Francis de Paule," before whom he threw himself upon his knees, praying him to prolong his life. The remedies, the prayers, the longing for life were alike useless. Those who surrounded him, and whom he had always told to announce gently to him the approach of danger, told him bluntly that he must die. Then at last he resigned himself to what was inevitable, sent for his son, the Dauphin, gave him excellent advice, and expired on the 30th August 1483.

The first wife of Louis, to whom he was married when

Dauphin, Margaret, daughter of James I of Scotland, died of grief, it is said, at his harshness and neglect; nor, from the same reason, was his second consort, Charlotte of Savoy, more happy. By her he had three children: Charles who succeeded him; Anne, married to Pierre de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu; Joan, married to the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Louis XII.

EIGHTH PERIOD.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

Charles VIII. (1483-1498).—Charles, the youngest of the children of the defunct king, was short of stature, with a large head, very short neck set upon broad and high shoulders, and long lank legs. Such is the unflattering portrait contemporaries have left us of his person. His father, who had but little affection for a sickly and unintelligent boy, kept him away from his court at Amboise. It is doubtful whether he ever knew how to read. This unhappy prince was now, as King of France, in full possession of authority, for he had entered upon his fourteenth year, the law fixing the age of thirteen as the majority for its kings.

This legal fiction deceived no one. It was well known that the royal authority, vested apparently in a boy, had fallen entirely into the hands of his sister, Anne of France, married to Pierre de Beaujeu, of the house of Bourbon. This nobleman, younger son of a great family, did not bring a very solid support to a princess of twenty-two, who had neither the will of her father nor the affection of her brother, neither the laws of the realm nor the benefit of experience; but only the advantage of reuniting in her person many of the qualities of Louis XI. Louis, who said of her, "She is the least silly woman in the world, for of wise women there are none," had confided to Anne the care of the education and health of the young king.

The princes of the blood, and more especially the Duke of Orleans, envious of the power Anne had thus

acquired, convoked the States-general at Tours, in the hope of displacing her. The Duke of Orleans did not doubt that they would aid him in supplanting his sister-in-law, and Anne reckoned correctly on making use of them to bridle all that youthful ambition. The States, after deliberation, did not arrive at a very definite decision, remitting everything to the king, with the single recommendation that he should strictly have taken the advice of his council, to be composed of twelve deputies of the States. In the king's absence, the Duke of Orleans was to preside over that council, and in his default, the Duke of Bourbon, and after him the Lord of Beaujeu.

"The Lady of Beaujeu" was not even named in that decree; the Duke of Orleans, on the contrary, remained the ostensible head of the government, and thought to be it. However, Anne, who had accustomed her brother to obey and fear her, in making him preside over the council, reduced the duke's office to a mere nullity. Thus was found constituted, without any one foreseeing it, what was called "the government of Madame," destined to continue the firm and energetic government of Louis XI.

The Duke of Orleans had shone brilliantly in the feasts and tournaments celebrated in honour of the consecration of Charles VIII. His good looks, his chivalrous manners, his inclination for pleasure and dissipation made a deep impression upon the young king, his brother-in-law, over whom he was gaining an ascendancy which soon gave Anne of Beaujeu the liveliest uneasiness. She heard whispers, at the same time, of secret plots of the princes against her authority. She cut the knot of that difficulty like a true daughter of Louis XI, by despatching suddenly to Paris a body of men-at-arms with orders to arrest the Duke of Orleans. The Duke was at the moment playing at tennis with the Count of Dunois and some other courtiers. The princes had only time to mount the first horses they could find and flee at their utmost speed. Louis of Orleans, declared a rebel, fled to the court of Brittany, formed an alliance with Francis

II. and with Maximilian, and solicited even the assistance of the King of England, Richard III.

Anne of Beaujeu frustrated all those plans. She kept Richard III. at home by giving the aid of men and money to his competitor, Henry of Richmond, destined shortly to succeed him as Henry VII. She treated against Maximilian with the States of Flanders, acting in the name of their young prince, Duke Philip of Austria. She made an alliance with the nobility of Brittany, in arms against Landais, the detested minister of Francis II. Landais was seized and hanged. At the same time La Tremoille hastened to besiege the Duke of Orleans in Beaugency, took him there, compelled him to return to the court, and promise that he would henceforth only occupy himself with his amusements. To keep him to his word, Anne separated him from Dunois, whom she exiled to Italy, but he soon broke it.

Having arrested the inroad of Maximilian in Artois, Anne turned her attention to Brittany. La Tremoille entered therein at the head of a well-appointed army, and encountered the Breton forces near St. Aubin. The result of this battle was fatal to the Bretons. The Duke of Orleans was taken prisoner in a wood whilst trying to rally the runaways, and the Prince of Orange was recognised as he sought to conceal himself amongst the slain. The capture of these two leaders proved the ruin of the cause. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were led back to France, well guarded, and there imprisoned. The Lady of Beaujeu caused the perjured Orleans to be closely confined in the donjon of Bourges; and, to make his captivity doubly sure, she had him, heir-presumptive to the crown as he was, shut up every night in an iron cage.

Matters went not less favourably in the north. The Flemings, having risen against Maximilian, drove his German troops from their country, and forced him to sign a new convention, based upon the treaty of Arras. Thus the Lady of Beaujeu frustrated every coalition, and maintained the conquests of her father.

The Duke of Brittany had made peace with Charles VIII. on very disadvantageous terms, and died three weeks after from vexation, leaving two daughters—one of whom did not long survive him. The marriage of his daughter, Anne, now sole heiress of the duchy, became a question of European policy. Should Brittany, the last of the great fiefs, be reunited or not to the domains of the King of France? The sovereigns of Europe took the liveliest interest in the independence of that province. Henry VII. promised troops and money; Ferdinand of Arragon sent both; competitors for the hand of the young princess were numerous. In much perplexity she resolved to choose for herself, and selected the Archduke Maximilian from amongst the list of her suitors. One marriage had already given to that prince the rich provinces of Flanders, and if he had gone himself to take the hand of the young princess, he would have threatened on three sides the independence of France. Maximilian, to conceal the mysteries of his policy from the public eye, repaired to Insprück, whilst his ambassador contracted for him, in Brittany, the marriage by procuration; but he neither came to claim his bride, nor sent troops to her aid. The King of France showed greater activity and proved more fortunate.

Anne of Beaujeu had skilfully worked upon her brother's mind in order to lead him to desire that union. To mount his horse, take lance in hand, and sally forth to conquer at once a province and a fair princess, was, for the young king, to imitate the paladins—the heroes of those romances of chivalry which he caused to be read to him so frequently. Already his troops occupied a great portion of the province; they had undertaken, early in August 1491, the siege of Rennes. At the beginning of October, the king himself approached; and when the secret negotiations, which the event alone made known, had reached their term, the king made pretext of a pilgrimage to Notre Dame, near Rennes, and his devotions paid, accompanied by 100 men and 50 archers of his guard, he entered the city, saluted the duchess, and con-

ferred long with her. Three days afterwards they entered a chapel, where, in presence of the *Lady of Beaujeu*, the Duke of Orleans, the Chancellor of Brittany, and others, the king was affianced to the duchess; and the marriage was celebrated in Touraine, in the château of Langeais, the 6th December 1491. The king was in his twenty-first year, whilst the duchess was only in her fourteenth. This marriage was the last act of the *Lady of Beaujeu*, or, as she was justly called, *Madame la Grande*. That princess had the rare merit of relinquishing by degrees the regal power from her hands, in order that it might return without a shock to those to whom it belonged. After having governed the realm with virility during eight years, she returned simply and without effort to her duties as a wife, and therein devoted herself.

The marriage of Charles VIII. with the Duchess Anne brought back, under royal authority, the last refuge of princely independence. By annexing Brittany to the crown, the whole of France, after a lapse of many centuries, was again united under one sovereign.

Louis XI., who had given the Genoese to the Duke of Milan for a few crowns, had taken good care to duly estimate the claim he derived from the house of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples. Charles VIII. drew it from abeyance, in order that he might strike some strong blows in the assertion of his right on the other side of the mountains. Anne of Beaujeu tried in vain to induce him to listen to the counsels of prudence. The impulsive young king paid no attention to them. He longed to undertake a brilliant and famous expedition, like those of Charlemagne's paladins. The irrepressible ardour of the nobility, pent up for thirty years in the interior, and rejoicing to embark in a foreign campaign, carried everything before it. Italy, moreover, came to throw herself into the arms of France. Ludovic, menaced by the King of Naples, appealed to Charles VIII.; as did also the Neapolitan barons, exasperated against their king, Savonarola, and the cardinals, who were enemies of Pope Alexander VI.

However, in regard to the position of France, the moment was ill chosen for a distant expedition. The neighbouring powers, discontented with the reunion of Brittany, formed a new league. The founder of the house of Tudor, Henry VII., landed an army at Calais; Maximilian, whom Charles VIII. had so signally supplanted, attacked Artois; the King of Spain, Ferdinand the Catholic, threatened to cross the Pyrenees. Here, then, was occasion enough for carrying on war. But Charles, in haste to set out, preferred to treat. The avaricious Henry VII., on promise of a sum of 745,000 gold crowns, payable in fifteen years, re-embarked his army. Maximilian and Ferdinand received territorial compensations. What did it matter to Charles VIII.? The submission of Italy was certain, and that conquest was only the commencement of still higher fortune. It was with such imprudence that France was led into those hazardous expeditions which diverted her from internal ameliorations and aggrandisements within her reach.

Charles crossed the Alps in the autumn of 1494. He found himself in want of money at the very outset of the enterprise. After having danced and revelled at Turin with the Duchess of Savoy and the Marchioness of Monferrat, he was obliged to borrow their diamonds and other money on them to continue his march. At Genoa, he borrowed 100,000 francs, at a rate which, duly reckoned, came to 42 for 100. Having fallen ill at Asti, he was there joined by his faithless ally, Ludovico Sforza, who stayed with him till he was assured of the success of a dose of poison, which he had a short time before feed into his wine to him. — As soon

to the French camp, and eagerly conducted Charles across the duchy of Milan as far as the frontiers of Tuscany. The two fortresses of Sarzana and Pietra Santa could have stayed the French army; Pietro de' Medici opened their gates in the hope of being maintained in Florence, which the Dominican monk, Savonarola, was raising against him. The monk-tribune, who looked upon Charles VIII. as an enemy sent from heaven to scourge Italy, went in search of the young king, and escorted him into the city. At Rome, the nobles and cardinals, who had been ill-treated by Alexander VI., opened the gates to the French, as liberators, and pressed the king to depose that iniquitous pontiff, who took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo.

In January 1495, as Charles approached the frontiers of the Neapolitan territories, Ferdinand I. died, and his son, Alphonso II., terrified, had abdicated. The new king, Ferdinand II., was more courageous, and wished to fight; but, at San Germano, he found himself menaced by a double treason—the one in his army, the other in his capital, and was forced to take refuge in the island of Ischia.

Meanwhile, Charles and his followers entered Naples amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, who strewed the way with flowers. With the exception of Brindisi, Reggio, and Gallipoli, every place yielded to him, and he achieved this great conquest without a single lance having been splintered.

The object attained, the conquerors thought only of enjoying their easy victory. Charles VIII. had himself crowned King of Naples, Emperor of the East, and King of Jerusalem. He exhibited himself to the Neapolitans with a purple mantle on his shoulders, a globe of gold in his hand, and celebrated his new acquisition by a succession of tournaments and revels. Every kind of business and affair of state was neglected; nothing was attended to but diversions and feasting. But, at the end of two months, the future conqueror of the East received a letter one evening from his ambassador at Venice, Philip de Comines, the historian. A formidable league of European

sovereigns had been concluded against him with the intention of barring his return from Italy, and of making France remain within its proper limits. Ferdinand the Catholic, Maximilian, and Henry VII., were the instigators of it; and the Italians themselves who had invited the French, or who had promised them fidelity, Ludovico, Alexander VI., Venice, etc., were parties to it; 40,000 men were to be collected by the Italian powers in the valley of the Po, whilst the French frontiers should be attacked by the other confederates. Already, the Duke of Orleans was closely blockaded by Ludovico in Novara. The jealousy of Europe against France revealed itself for the first time. Charles thought it necessary to take care of himself, and resolved to retrace his steps to France. Leaving some 4000 troops with Gilbert de Montpensier, whom he named viceroy of Naples, he took with the rest the route to the Apennines. Great difficulty was found in crossing that chain by a narrow defile; the Swiss soldiers were harnessed to the guns, and the nobles themselves carried the munitions. On the other side of the mountains, the French discovered, in the valley of the Taro, the confederated army, 35,000 strong, which barred the way. The French were less than 10,000. Charles resolved nevertheless to pass. He had here his first opportunity of showing himself to be a soldier. Whilst he was pushing his vanguard along the Taro, he was attacked in the rear; he faced his assailants; and in an hour, 3500 of them strewed the field; the rest disbanded. The Italians attributed that prompt success to the *furia Franchese* rather than to their own cowardice. After all, the victory of Fornova served only to open the path of retreat to the French (6th July 1495).

Once again in France, Charles seemed to forget Italy. Ferdinand II., setting out from Sicily with a few Spanish troops, surprised Naples the day after the battle of Fornova, and shut up Montpensier in Atella, where he died of the plague. Ferdinand was reinstated in Naples, and before the end of the year nothing remained of Charles's boasted conquests in Italy.

Warned by experience and the complaints of his subjects, the young king now pursued an entirely new course of conduct. He no longer gave himself up to his former frivolous amusements, but set about reforming the abuses of his government, and seemed bent on living only for the good of his people. Unfortunately for them, a fatal accident suddenly put a stop to this laudable reformation. Early in 1498, he was at Amboise, in the château of which he was superintending certain improvements being carried on by several excellent workmen, whom he had brought from Naples, when one day, in passing through a dark gallery, the door of which was very low, he struck his head against it so violently, that in a few hours afterwards he expired (7th April 1498). He was in his twenty-eighth year, and had reigned fifteen years. Comines says of him: "he was but little understood, but so good that it was not possible to behold a better creature." The direct branch of Valois terminated with him, and was replaced by that of the Orleans-Valois.

Louis XII. (1498-1515).—Charles VIII. having left no children, the crown reverted by right to Duke Louis of Orleans, then aged thirty-six, grandson of a brother of Charles VI. Louis XII. sprang from an amiable, stirring, and witty race, who pleased alike by their good qualities and their defects. His grandfather had figured as a brilliant knight, his father as a poet, who left some charming verses to posterity; and his uncle Dunois was the bravest amongst the captains of Charles VII., and one of the names of old France which have remained popular. Louis, without possessing superior qualities, was distinguished by great kindness of heart.

He began his reign by diminishing the taxation, and refused the gift called "donation of the joyous accession," which amounted to 300,000 livres. Formerly head of the nobility against the royal authority, he cherished no spite against the faithful servants of Anne of Beaujeu, who had so well beaten him at the battle of St. Aubin. He welcomed La Tremouille and others by saying that it

did not become the King of France to avenge the quarrels of the Duke of Orleans.

A grave matter at first occupied his attention. The widow of Charles VIII., queen Anne, had retired to the château of Nantes, in her duchy of Brittany, and might carry it, by a second marriage, into a foreign house. Louis, married upwards of twenty-two years to a daughter of Louis XI. whom he did not love, demanded, in spite of the tears of that virtuous princess, a divorce. Pope Alexander VI. (Borgia), having need of the king, granted it, and Louis married immediately his predecessor's widow. Brittany was thus once more reattached to France (1499), this time for ever.

It was the age of foreign conquests. The facility of the first expedition into Italy, the descriptions given of that lovely country, revived the taste for distant adventures. Louis XII., heir of the claim of Charles VIII. to Naples, derived further from his grandmother, Valentine Visconti, rights to the Milanese usurped by Sforza. He sacrificed to the prevailing passion of the time, but not with the rashness of his predecessor. Moreover, if it were absolutely necessary to return to Naples, and fix himself at that extremity of the peninsula, it would be wise to lay hands on some strong position in the north. Naples has been always fatal to France, because that city is too far away from it; Milan, though he set no value upon it, was indispensable to him from the moment that his army had to operate in the centre or the south of the peninsula. At first, indeed, no difficulties presented themselves. In July 1499, Louis sent an army into Italy under Trivulce, an Italian who had entered his service. That general made an easy conquest of the Milanese and Genoa, and Ludovico, repulsed by everyone, fled to the Tyrol. On hearing of this success, the king himself crossed the Alps, and entering Milan spent three weeks there in regulating affairs.

The bad administration of Trivulce, an old Guelph, who persecuted his adversaries, restored the chances of Ludovico. He came back with a horde of Swiss and

German adventurers, and surprised Milan. But a fresh army from France, under the brave La Tremouille, soon regained possession of the city, and took Ludovico prisoner. On account of his crimes, he was kept closely confined for ten years in a dungeon at Loches, where he died.

France having thus become preponderant in the north, next won over the Florentines by aiding them against the revolted Pisans. But Louis was bent on going further still. He bethought himself of taking the kingdom of Naples without striking a stroke, and with that object he formed an alliance with the crafty Ferdinand of Aragon. By the treaty of Grenada (1500), he reserved to himself the title of king, with Naples, Gaëta, the Abruzzi, and Terra di Lavoro. Ferdinand was contented with Apulia and Calabria with the title of duke. The unfortunate Frederick III. of Naples, finding himself unequal to contend with the united forces of France and Spain, abandoned his kingdom, and leaving his children to the mercy of Ferdinand, trusted himself to the generosity of Louis, who gave him a pension of 30,000 livres and the Duchy of Maine. Frederick died in 1504.

The conquest achieved, its partition was not effected in a like friendly manner. As might be expected, neither party was contented, each desiring more than his share. Thus the two kings were soon in arms against each other. The son of Mary of Burgundy, the Archduke Philip, had married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Philip, to reconcile Louis and his father-in-law, had an interview with the French king at Lyons, and there agreed with him for a cessation of arms. The French faithfully kept the contract; but the Spanish king, disavowing the act of his son-in-law, sent reinforcements to his general, Gonzalvo, with orders to continue the war. The latter attacked the French army in Naples, which he defeated in two battles. As a result of these defeats, the whole of the kingdom of Naples, with the exception of the town of Gaëta, fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

Louis XII. made great preparations for inflicting ven-

gence for this treason. He sent two armies into Spain, which were unsuccessful, and beyond the Alps a third with no better result. La Tremouille, who commanded it, was detained for some time in the environs of Rome by the strange death of Alexander VI. (Borgia), and by the intrigues to which the election of his successor gave place. This gave Gonzalvo time to complete his defences. Posted on the Garigliano, he arrested the march of the French, no longer commanded by La Tremouille, who had fallen dangerously ill, and had been replaced by the Marquis of Mantua. The rout of the French army was complete, the artillery, baggage, and a great number of prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy (1503).

It was to be feared that the loss of the Milanese would follow that of Naples. Maximilian was already about to assert his imperial rights beyond the Alps, and Gonzalvo was marching towards the north of Italy. Louis XII. divided his enemies and disarmed them by three treaties signed at Blois on the same day (22nd Sept. 1504).

The two surviving children of Isabella of Castile, wife of Ferdinand of Aragon, were the Archduchess Joanna and Catherine the wife of Henry VIII. of England. On Isabella's death (1504), the Archduke Philip took possession of Castile in his wife's name. He died in 1507, when Joanna's eldest son Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles V., was acknowledged as sovereign of Castile. Ferdinand, however, contrived still to retain the chief power, and governed Castile in the name of his grandson, then only seven years old. A few months after the death of Isabella, Ferdinand married Germana de Foix, niece to Louis XII., who gave as part of her dower all his right to the kingdom of Naples.

Alone of the Italian powers, the republic of Venice, in allying herself sometimes with one, sometimes with others, had prospered amidst the disasters of the peninsula. But that wily policy could not always succeed; a moment must come when all the world would turn against one who aggrandised herself at the expense of all. In 1508, a league was formed by Pope Julius II., Maximilian,

and the King of Aragon, all of them professed enemies of Louis XII., against Venice, Louis's only sure friend and ally on that side the Alps. Louis, who had most unwisely entered into the league of Cambray, gained a great victory over the Venetians in the battle of Agnadel (May 14, 1509), and the republic was stripped of a considerable portion of its territory, but afterwards in part recovered its losses.

The forces of Julius II. having sustained a series of defeats from the French in 1511, the warrior-pope fell back fighting towards the south, until again beaten at Casalecchio, he returned to Rome suffering from illness. Louis XII. thought the moment had arrived to attack even the pontiff himself. He convoked a general council at Pisa to examine the pope's conduct with a view to his deposition—a grave error, because that measure changed the nature of the struggle. Above the enfeebled temporal prince there still existed the all-powerful spiritual prince. Julius II. placed Pisa under an interdict, excommunicated the dissident cardinals, summoned a council, and invoked the aid of the Catholic powers of Europe. All responded; Ferdinand of Spain, Henry VIII. of England, Maximilian, the Venetian republic, and the Swiss, formed a holy league for the avowed object of preserving the church from a schism, but in reality to drive the French beyond the Alps. Though treason did its work amongst the German troops and garrisons still in the service of Louis XII. in Italy, and whilst even the frontiers of France were menaced on the north, the east, and the south, the French army, commanded by the king's nephew, the young Gaston de Foix, aged twenty-two, defeated the united forces of the league on the 11th April 1512, in a great battle at Ravenna.

It would have been better for Louis XII. and for France had that battle been lost, rather than the young and valiant general slain in it. With him perished all the vigour of the French army. La Palice succeeded him, but without replacing him, notwithstanding his intrepidity. Julius II. took courage and pronounced

against Louis, amidst the Lateran council, a sentence worthy of the middle ages. The French army, abandoned by its German auxiliaries, fell back before Cremona, allowed Bologna to be retaken, and La Palice, after a combat in the very streets of Pavia, retired into Piedmont. Several detachments were unable to join him, and were remorselessly butchered. At Ravenna, four French officers were buried alive, their heads being left above ground in order to prolong their sufferings. At this juncture, Julius II. died. He had laid hands on Parma and Placentia, and his dying glance had seen the French in full retreat; he had succeeded in wresting Italy from them, but merely to give it to the Spaniards; it was only a change of masters, and passing from bad to worse. His successor, Leo X., continued his policy. He renewed the holy league, which the Venetians had abandoned in order to return to Louis XII., and the invasion even of the French territories was resolved upon.

Ferdinand, already master of Spanish Navarre, on the south of the Pyrenees, awaited only a favourable occasion to seize upon French Navarre, to the north of those mountains, and an English army was ready to land at Calais. Louis XII. faced the storm. Menaced in his own kingdom, he did not abandon Italy. La Tremouille and Trivulce descended thereon with a fine army, and hemmed in the Swiss with Maximilian Sforza in Novara, but a succour sent by the cantons enabled them, after a short but sanguinary struggle, to put the besieging army to the rout. Genoa profiting by the disaster revolted. On every side Louis was defeated and disappointed. All his conquests in Italy had vanished from his grasp.

For many years, the French provinces had not seen a foreign army. Two now entered therein, the English under the young and inconsiderate Henry VIII., who, eager to display his spirit and activity in a war with France, had espoused the quarrel of the Emperor Maximilian. An action was fought near Guinegate, in which a panic having seized the French army, 10,000 cavalry fled headlong before a small body of English. The

celebrated knight Bayard, and the Duke de Longueville were taken prisoners. This affair, which on the part of the French was rather a flight than a battle, has been called *the Battle of the Spurs*. The Swiss, to the number of 20,000, penetrated as far as Dijon; their further advance was stayed by La Tremouille, only by much money and more promises. The sole ally of France, James IV. of Scotland, shared his evil fortune, being conquered and slain by the English at Flodden (Sept. 9, 1513).



PORT OF CALAIS.

Anne of Brittany died in January 1514. The treaty of Dijon had already rid France of the Swiss. Louis disavowed the council of Pisa to regain the pope, and agreed, with the emperor and the King of Aragon, upon the truce of Orleans (March 1514). Henry VIII. refused for some time to lay down his arms; the treaty of London, however, which left him Tournay, and secured him an annual tribute of 100,000 crowns during ten years, re-established peace on that side also. It was sealed

by the marriage of Louis XII. with the young and beautiful sister of the King of England.

Thus, after fifteen years of war, many men slain and much treasure lost, France was no further advanced beyond the Alps than at the end of the reign of Charles VIII.; the kingdom of Naples and the Milanese, several times conquered, still mocked its claim to their possession.

The peace which Louis XII. had realised after the dangers of 1514, contributed doubtless to render his reign more fertile in beneficent institutions and great works of art, but he did not long survive them. He had loved his *Bretonne*, as he called her, with sincere affection, had wept eight days unceasingly for her loss. On the 7th August of the same year, however, he contracted the politic marriage with Mary of England, then only sixteen, who compelled him to change his simple and regular life. Feasts and tournaments were held daily for several months. It had been his custom to dine at eight o'clock in the morning, but to please his young bride, he adopted the late hour of twelve at noon; and instead of retiring to rest at six in the evening, it was often midnight before they quitted the dances and festivities of his court. He had never enjoyed good health after his serious illness in 1504, and these altered habits killed him. He died on the 1st January 1515, at the age of fifty-three, sincerely lamented by his subjects, from whom he acquired the title of "The Father of his people."

By his second wife, Anne of Brittany, he had two daughters: Claude, who married her cousin the Count d'Angoulême. Renée, married to Hercules d'Este, duke of Ferrara. Mary of England left no children.

NINTH PERIOD.

FIRST STRUGGLE OF FRANCE AGAINST THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.

Francis I. (1515-1547).—The successor of Louis XII. was his cousin Francis, count of Angoulême, descended from a third son of that Duke of Orleans, who had been assassinated in 1407. After “the father of the people,” this was “the king of the gentlemen.” Stalwart and handsome, and with an air and demeanour at once chivalrous and princely, his disposition was so frank and unreserved, that he was incapable of craftiness or duplicity. His gay and open character won all hearts. Unsparring of himself in battle as of the substance of his subjects in the festivities with which his court was incessantly enlivened; imperious in command, yet easily prevailed over; the friend of arts and letters, and well-educated himself, Francis I. carried his defects as well as his good qualities to extremes. “That big boy will spoil everything,” said Louis XII., a witness of his wild and exuberant youth. It did not so happen. With the pride of power, Francis I. had a sentiment of the grandeur of France. He often repaired by dint of courage, and sometimes even, which is more difficult, by dint of prudence, the errors which his favourites of all sorts made him commit. He conquered nothing, but he kept France intact, under perilous circumstances, and in face of the greatest adversary that she ever had. He increased the taxes, but dispensed them with open hands. He reformed the laws and gave a vivid impulse to letters and arts. In short, he concealed his errors and vices by a certain splendour of chivalrous generosity and sovereign grandeur,

so that he has taken rank, if not among the best, at least among the most remarkable of the French kings.

Francis had often felt indignant at the complaisance shown by Louis XII. for the Parliament and clergy. He had resolved to give to the administration, as soon as he should become the master, a more energetic impulse. Duprat, a skilful but unscrupulous minister, whom he made chancellor, was charged with applying the new maxims of government.

Francis, like Louis XII., seemed to overrate his claims in Italy. The last treaties tried his patience. One of them was only a truce for a year; he did not renew it, and made ready to cross the Alps, after having given the constable's sword to the Duke of Bourbon, a man of an impetuous spirit, capable of great things, but unfitted to be a subject; and the regency to his mother, Louisa of Savoy, a woman of wit, beauty, and talent, but wholly without principle. She was vain, avaricious, and vindictive, and who, to excuse her many faults, had only one good quality—her love for her son.

A formidable army was collected near Lyons and in Dauphiny, with the avowed object of obtaining possession of Milan. Venice, at war with the Spaniards, and Genoa menaced by the Duke of Milan, summoned Francis I. to Italy. The Emperor Maximilian, the Swiss cantons, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Pope Leo X., entered into a confederacy with Sforza against him; and 20,000 Swiss soldiers guarded the passes of Mont Cenis and Mont Genevre, the two only routes by which it was supposed that an army could emerge from the defiles of the Alps upon Piedmont. As those two routes met at Susa, the Swiss established a camp there of 10,000 men.

Francis I. began by a master-stroke. The chamois-hunters and herdsmen of the Dauphiny Alps acted as guides to Trivulce, Lautrec, and the skilful engineer, Navarro; and it was found that it would be possible, at the cost of great efforts, to ascend from the valley of Barcelonnette and to descend into that of Stura, by crossing the neck of the Argentière, until then judged

impracticable. The descent was made with such rapidity, that a body of cavalry, with La Palice, d'Aubigny, and Bayard, surprised at table, in Villafranca, the general of the pontifical troops, Prosper Colonna, who was made prisoner with 700 of his knights; an exploit chiefly accomplished by the gallantry of the chevalier Bayard. The enemy's positions on the left were turned. The Swiss, astonished, fell back upon Milan, in order to effect their junction with the Spanish army which was watching the Venetians. The French followed them as far as Marignan.

Francis, highly elated with the news of this success, hastened to join his troops, who were now in sight of Milan. Discouraged by the capture of Colonna, the confederates were desirous to treat for a peace. The war seemed about to terminate without a battle, when 20,000 fresh Swiss debouched from the Alps; who, eager for plunder, demanded to be instantly led to battle. About four o'clock in the afternoon of September 13, 1515, the Swiss pikemen rushed impetuously upon the French artillery, thinking to capture it. But the flower of the gendarmerie was there, all clad in steel, men and horses. Thirty charges vigorously directed against that peasant-soldiery could not check it. With their pikes, eighteen feet in length, they resembled the Macedonian phalanx which was so long invincible. The artillery admirably served, mowed down whole files of them, but the impulsive column still advanced. Thrice did it capture the foremost batteries, around which "a battle of giants" was waged. The constable, the princes, the nobles spared themselves no more than the rest, the king himself charged at the head of his staff and received several blows upon his armour. The sun set, but the struggle was kept up by moonlight, until the night closed in darkness. Friends and foes did not separate, but lay down together to snatch a brief repose. The king slept on a gun-carriage, a few paces from the enemy; Bayard was lost amongst the thickest of the Swiss, and was obliged to crawl upon his hands and knees to rejoin his friends.

The fight recommenced at daybreak, but between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the Swiss heard in their rear the shout of "Marco! Marco!" raised by the Venetian vanguard who had hurried forward to take part in the battle. "The tamers of princes" fell back in good order, and recrossed their mountains without halting, but with the loss of 10,000 slain.

It was a brilliant inauguration of a reign. The French army was intoxicated with joy. The young king, desirous of giving the honour of the victory to the hero of Brescia and Guinegate, demanded to be dubbed a knight upon the field of battle by the hand of Bayard, who performed all the rites of that ancient ceremony.

Italy lay at the feet of Francis I. He used his victory with moderation, thought not of conquering Naples, but of securing to himself strong positions in the north of the peninsula. The doge of Genoa gave him possession of that city; Maximilian Sforza did not make any further attempt at resistance. He gave up his duchy in exchange for a pension of 30,000 ducats, and the promise that Francis should solicit for him a cardinal's hat. The emperor was forced to deliver up Verona to the Venetians; the pope, the duchies of Parma and Placentia to the Milanese. A little later, Henry VIII. of England agreed that Tournay, St. Amand, and Mortagne should be ransomed. Finally, a firm peace closed Italy against the Swiss, and the confederation renewed the treaty made with Louis XI. in 1474, engaging to allow the king to levy troops amongst them at need. Francis I. paid to the Swiss the 700,000 crowns which he had offered them before the victory. This peace, concluded at Geneva (Nov. 1515) with eight cantons, and accepted by the five others at Fribourg (Nov. 1516), was rightly called *the Perpetual Peace*, for it lasted as long as the old French monarchy.

Until 1519, France and Europe enjoyed peace. In 1516, had died Ferdinand *the Catholic*, retaining his crafty and fraudulent character to the last. That death gave to *Charles of Austria*, already sovereign of the low countries

and king of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. Francis did not seek to hinder his succession to that magnificent inheritance. He signed with him the treaty of Noyon (1516), which stipulated, between the two princes, an alliance offensive and defensive, without other advantage for France than the restitution to Joan d'Albret of Navarre, of which Ferdinand *the Catholic* had possessed himself. Another death, that of Maximilian, Charles's paternal grandfather (1519) was about to change everything.

Francis I. saw in that event a new perspective of grandeur. He hoped to re-erect the empire of Charlemagne, and thought to have only to demand the imperial crown to obtain it. Germany had need of a prince capable of defending her against the Turks, whose power was then like a rising tide, irresistible, which lashed alternately its two shores of Europe and Asia. And who could better arrest them than the brilliant victor of Marignan? But the German princes thought also on the condition to which the kings of France had reduced the great nobles of their country, and they dreaded a similar fate. Henry VIII. of England also entered the ranks of the competitors, but his islands were far off, and his candidature could not be serious. All the candidates had, in fact, scattered gold amongst the electors; but although Francis had given the most, Charles of Austria was elected and became Charles the Fifth. Two centuries of war sprang from that simoniacal election.

Francis I. had written very chivalrously before the election to Charles V., "We are as two suitors to the same mistress; the more fortunate will gain her, but the other must remain contented." The disappointment, however, weighed heavily on Francis; for besides wounded ambition, he quickly saw the danger France and Europe ran from a reunion of so many crowns on the same head. From that moment the policy of France changed. To win a province beyond the Alps was no longer the question, but to save the menaced liberty of the continent. Master of Spain and Naples, of the low countries, and of

Austria, Charles V. held, so to speak, Europe by its four corners. He was further Emperor of Germany, a title to which were attached the rights of suzerainty over Italy; he soon dragged into his alliance the pope and Henry VIII. of England; Cortez and Pizarro achieved for him the conquest of Mexico and Peru. What then did the new Charlemagne want further? France, which he threatened already on three sides, by the Pyrenees, Franche-Comté, and Flanders. But France neither gave herself to him nor allowed herself to be taken.

The two rivals contended together for an alliance with the only formidable sovereign after themselves, Henry VIII. of England. Francis offered him festivities of extraordinary magnificence at a meeting called "the Field of the Cloth of Gold," between Guines and Ardres (7th June 1520). He therein expended enormous sums, and forced his courtiers to ruin themselves likewise. "Many lords," says Du Bellay, "carried thither their mills, their forests, and their meadows upon their shoulders." Francis eclipsed his guest by his magnificence, by his address, and by the rare elegance of his mind and manners. But he wounded the self-love of the English monarch instead of winning him over. Charles V., more adroit, went to meet Henry at Gravelines, in modest guise, like a suitor, saluted him with the name of "father," pensioned his favourite minister, Cardinal Wolsey, to whom he promised the tiara, and thus secured the English alliance.

Beaten in diplomacy, Francis hoped for more success in war. Both Francis and Charles were eager to commence hostilities, and an invasion of Champagne, frustrated by the noble efforts of Bayard, was the commencement of open war between them, in spite of the remonstrances of Henry VIII., who, in his office of umpire, affected a great anxiety to preserve peace.

The first serious blow was dealt in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded in the Milanese, had irritated the people by his hard and rapacious government. Francis confided the execution of his military operations chiefly to Lautrec

and Bonnivet, men who in rash bravery and presumption resembled himself, while he slighted the advice of the constable Bourbon, the only general in France possessing superior military talent. The civil government was not in better hands than the military. With such a government at home, and with such commanders abroad, no wonder that the war in Italy, though prosperous at first by the bravery of the French soldiers, was in the end a series of defeats and disasters. Inferior in strength to the Spanish troops of Pescara, Lautrec had the mortification of seeing his Swiss soldiers desert for want of pay; and before the end of 1522, the French were stripped of the Milanese, and of every conquest they had made in Italy, with the exception of the castle of Milan, and of a few inconsiderable forts which held out for a while through the valour and obstinacy of the several governors.

Francis I., believing that he could repair everything by his presence, directed the march of 25,000 men upon the Alps, but at the moment when he was about to take the command a conspiracy developed itself, the success of which would have ruined France. This was the defection of the constable Bourbon, who, driven to desperation by the neglect of the king, and the malice of the regent-mother, forgot in the violence of his resentment, that there was then a France which required to remain united, and that a treason against its king was a treason against his country. Francis went to see him at his château of Moulins, hoping to draw from him an avowal, an act of repentance, a word of affection and of devotedness. Bourbon remained cold and impenetrable. Scarcely had Francis quitted him ere he fled through byeways to Germany, where the emperor received him with open arms.

It was probable that the constable might have left accomplices behind him, and Francis had the prudence not to quit his kingdom till all danger therein had subsided. Moreover, the triple invasion projected to lend a hand to Bourbon, and to the provinces which he had promised to raise, was accomplishing. Francis sent

Lautrec into Guyenne against 25,000 Spaniards, who attacked Bayonne in vain; the Count Claude of Guise against 12,500 German lansquenets, who were driven out of Franche-Comté and Champagne beyond the Meuse; finally, the veteran Tremouille against 35,000 English and Flemings, who penetrated to within eleven leagues of Paris, but who were stopped and driven back by his skilful manœuvres.

Successful in France, because he had well-chosen generals, the king's forces were worsted in Italy, because he gave his finest army, 40,000 men, to a clever courtier, personally brave, but a very bad general, the admiral Bonnivet. The latter, instead of marching strait upon Milan, then defenceless, and carrying it, allowed the enemy time to fortify himself therein, and to Lannoy and Bourbon to effect their junction. He then fell back as far as Biagrasso upon the Ticinella, compromised Bayard at Rebecco, and, forced to retreat still further from fear of being cut off from France, he retired upon the Sesia. He was wounded at the passage of that river, near Romagnano. Bayard, to whom he had confided the task of saving the rear-guard, there received a mortal wound from a musket shot. Whilst the French were fleeing towards the Alps, Bourbon found the good knight stretched at the foot of a tree, with his face towards the enemy, and expressed his grief at seeing him in that condition. "You need not pity me," said Bayard, "for I die a loyal subject; but I pity you who are serving against your king, your country, and your oath."

This rout and the death of Bayard left the French frontier unprotected, which Bourbon crossed. He was impatient to stifle his remorse under the greatness of his success. Provence lay open to him with the exception of Marseilles, which was tolerably well fortified. He thought that the city would surrender at the first cannon-shot. Marseilles, on the contrary, gave him a very rude reception. He carried on the siege obstinately during forty days, until he heard that Francis was advancing with 8000 horse, 34,000 foot, and a good artillery. The

imperial army, demoralised, retraced its route towards the Alps (August 1524).

The King of France, finding himself within reach of the theatre of his first exploits, could not resist the temptation of reappearing thereon. No enemy presented an obstacle to him. Francis seized upon Milan without striking a blow. He entered at one gate as Bourbon and Pescara escaped at another. Francis then thought himself strong enough to detach a body of 10,000 men to conquer the kingdom of Naples whilst he should press the siege of Pavia.

The imprudence of weakening his army, which the king had committed after the battle of Marignan, brought about a terrible disaster. Bourbon, animated with hatred, had found unsuspected resources. In the beginning of 1525, with a large army, he rallied Pescara and Lannoy, and all three advanced upon Pavia, placing Francis I. between them and the town, garrisoned by 6000 men, commanded by a resolute soldier, De Leyva. The position was perilous. The old generals, Tavannes, Lautrec, and Tremouille, advised the raising of the siege and choosing other ground. Bonnivet maintained that the king ought not to fall back before a traitor, and Francis I. found that reason sufficient.

On the day of battle (25th Feb. 1525) the French artillery did wonders. Wide gaps were made momentarily in the enemy's battalions, so that "nothing was to be seen but arms and heads flying into the air." But as they began to waver under that murderous fire, the king thought that the day was won, and threw himself upon them at the head of his cavalry, having first masked his artillery. Profiting by that, the Spanish infantry rushed upon the Swiss, who gave way on seeing De Leyva issue from the citadel in their rear. The French cavalry was thus left almost alone on the field of battle. La Tremouille, La Palice, and the best generals fell round the king. Ten thousand French were slain. Bonnivet, the author of the disaster, had for an instant a chance of flight, but he returned and was killed. The king himself, wounded and surrounded by the slain, still fought

on. He refused to surrender to Bourbon. A French gentleman recognised him, drew him out of the mêlée, and conducted him to the viceroy of Naples, who knelt down to receive his sword. "I hope," said Francis to him, "that I shall be treated as a king," and demanded to be taken to Madrid to his cousin the emperor. "To let you know," he wrote that same evening in a long letter to his mother, "what misfortune has happened, of all things nothing remains except honour and life." History has attributed to him the shorter and more heroic phrase of—"All is lost save honour."

Francis I., however, did not find Charles V. at Madrid as magnanimous as he had expected. The emperor affected to forbid all rejoicings, "seeing that no one ought to rejoice in a king's misfortune;" but he did not the less for all that keep him prisoner, and refused for a long time to see him. Sinking under the disappointment of protracted hope, Francis fell into a fever which threatened to put an end to his life. At one moment he formed the design of abdicating in favour of his son, in order to leave in his enemy's hands only a brave knight instead of the King of France. His resolution was not lasting. He consented to sign a disastrous treaty (Jan. 1526), after having protested secretly against a moral violence, which, according to him, struck with nullity every act of the captive. He ceded Burgundy to Charles, under the reserve of homage, renounced Naples, Milan, and Genoa, and agreed to reinstate Bourbon in his rights, and to espouse the emperor's sister, the queen-dowager of Portugal. Leaving as hostages his two eldest sons after a hasty embrace on the banks of the Bidassoa, he leaped on horseback the instant he landed on the French side exclaiming: "I am still a king!" and then he galloped off towards Bayonne, where he found his mother and sister. An assembly of notables decided that the king could not cede the first principality of the kingdom, whilst the Burgundian deputies invoked the consecration oath, and declared that they would remain French in spite of king and emperor. Charles accused Francis of disloyalty, but

the king excused himself, alleging that promises made in durance were not binding, and proposed to settle their differences by duel in the lists.

Francis I., as though he were stunned by the blow dealt him at Pavia, did not recommence the strife with vigour. He negotiated much, ratified all that the regent had done, confirmed the treaties which she had concluded, and signed with Pope Clement VII., who absolved him from his Madrid oath, with Henry of England, Venice, Florence, and the Swiss, a holy league for the deliverance of Italy. That unfortunate country, during thirty-two years the theatre of war, was at that moment the prey of mercenary bands, which their chiefs rather obeyed than commanded. The Italians made an effort to rid themselves of those ferocious foreigners. An army wholly Italian assembled under command of the Duke d'Urbino. But the Constable de Bourbon descended the Alps at the head of a fresh body of 10 to 15,000 fanatical Lutherans and pillagers; and these mercenaries becoming mutinous for want of pay, he resolved to march upon Rome, and let them satisfy their appetite for plunder by the sack of the papal city. At the approach of the imperial army, Clement shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, leaving the citizens to make the best defence they could. The assault was given early in the morning of the 6th of May 1527, and as Bourbon was in the act of placing a scaling ladder against the walls, he was killed by a random shot from the town. His soldiers, by whom he was much beloved, cruelly avenged him. The city was taken and given up to plunder. During nine months, Rome was subjected to tortures and outrages which even the Goths and Vandals had not inflicted upon her. It was the army of Charles V. which profaned thus the capital of Christianity, and which kept the pope a captive in St. Angelo. The emperor, it is true, in order to conceal the part he had taken in this great scandal, caused masses to be said for the deliverance of the Holy Father; but the robbers were only driven from their prey by a pestilence, and the approach of Lautrec, who after reducing the

Milanese, had advanced rapidly to the succour of the pope.

The King of France accused Charles V. of these horrors, by which the emperor profited, whilst he repudiated them. Francis, however, had also sent Lautrec into Lombardy, to again attempt the conquest of Naples, the possession of which was so useless to France. Lautrec had at first a brilliant success; he made himself master of nearly the whole kingdom. But he was left without money; offence was given to the Genoese admiral, Doria, who declared against him; a pestilence broke out which carried off the general, discouraged the soldiers, and the expedition was ruined. Another army was destroyed in the spring of the following year at Landriano, in Lombardy. Italy was then left to Charles V., and it remained more than three centuries under the power or the influence of the house of Austria.

It seemed as though Charles V. were now going to enter upon France; but a religious war was on the point of breaking out in Germany; Soliman, the secret ally of Francis I., pushed his formidable janissaries up to the very walls of Vienna, and Henry of England threatened to renounce the Austrian alliance, by threatening to repudiate his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, aunt of Charles V. The emperor, finding thus two new wars behind his triumphs of Pavia and Landriano, was desirous of securing peace in the west, when he was about to have so much to do in the east and north. A peace was therefore negotiated, chiefly by Louisa of Savoy and Margaret, the emperor's aunt, at Cambray, and thence called "The Ladies' Peace."

Francis had now an interval of peace. This suspension of hostilities lasted until the end of 1535, during which he devoted himself to the works of peace, without neglecting measures of prudence. He renewed his alliance with Henry VIII., between whom and the tiara a rupture had just occurred (1532), and at the same time he regained the pope by demanding for the young prince, afterwards Henry II., the hand of Catherine de' Medici,

niece of the pontiff. The king renewed also the ancient friendship with the Scots, by giving his eldest daughter Madelaine in marriage to their youthful monarch, James V. (1536), who had come to his aid, unsolicited, when Charles invaded Provence unsuccessfully that year with an army of 50,000 men.

The novel tenets of Luther had early insinuated themselves into France; and their first conquests were amongst the learned. All the great French jurisconsults of the time, either in secret, or openly accepted the reformation. A portion of the court leaned that way. Louisa of Savoy appeared to be favourable to it. The daughter of Francis, Margaret, Queen of Navarre, openly professed the principles of the German reformers, and the Duchess d'Etampes, the king's mistress, prided herself on protecting them. But when the German peasants, drawing social consequences from the new doctrines, aimed at overthrowing all authority, Francis I. thought that the Reformation, which was a revolt against the pope, was very nearly leading, in politics, to a revolt against the king; and if he remained the interested friend of the German Protestants, he did not desire that their doctrines should prevail in his territories.

In 1538, a truce for ten years was signed between Francis and Charles. Shortly afterwards, the emperor being desirous of going through France on his way from Spain to the Low Countries, obtained the permission of Francis by offering to give up the Milanese to him in return for that favour. Charles, in passing through France, was treated with the courtesy due to an imperial visitor. But when called upon afterwards to fulfil his promise, he refused, and in 1542 the war recommenced. Henry VIII. of England joined Charles in an invasion of Champagne and Picardy. Fortunately for France, Henry did not adhere to the plan agreed upon. Instead of marching upon Paris, where all was confusion, Henry obstinately besieged Boulogne, leaving his ally isolated with a mercenary army, without money or provisions. The Dauphin had already thrown himself upon

the rear-guard of the imperial army; so that at the moment when Charles V. thought to reduce his enemy to the last extremity, he was obliged to sign the peace of Crespy. Henry VIII. refused to accede to that; and only consented to treat on seeing a French fleet threaten the coasts of England. Henry, however, kept Boulogne, which he promised to restore in eight years for the sum of two million crowns (June 1546). It was released in 1550 for 400,000 crowns.

Francis was now becoming enfeebled. He was no longer the brilliant knight of Marignan or Pavia, the friend of Leonardo da Vinci and of Erasmus. Ruined prematurely in health by his excesses, he was at fifty-one a morose old man. In the belief that his reverses and even his sufferings were attributable to his relaxation in punishing the converts to Lutheranism, he now treated them with greater severity, and many suffered martyrdom. Francis did not live to witness the great success of his rival in gaining the battle of Mühlberg, which seemed to place the empire at his feet. He died three weeks previously at the château of Rambouillet, aged fifty-two (31st March 1547).

Henry II. (1547-1559)—Henry II. carried to excess the defects of his father and had none of his better qualities, neither wit nor grace. He was heavy in person, wanting in intelligence; delighting only in athletic exercises, so much so that it eventually proved the cause of his death. Though she was forty-eight years old, Diana of Poitiers, by her wit and a beauty which defied time, exercised an influence over him which his astonished contemporaries attributed to some enchanted ring. He created her Duchess of Valentinois, and allowed her to govern his court, wherein the queen was powerless. The highest ministerial power was in the hands of the Constable de Montmorency, Marshal Saint-André, the king's favourite, and the Guises, a younger branch of Lorraine, poor in possessions, but rich in hopes. Francis, Duke d'Aumale, was the eldest son of Claude, Duke of Guise, *the second of the seven sons of that Duke of Lorraine*

who vanquished Charles *the Bold* at the battle of Nancy; and amidst the struggle for place, honours, and pensions, on Henry's accession, Guise was loaded with favours. In a few weeks the king squandered 400,000 crowns which he had found in his father's coffers destined for the German war. "There were only," says a contemporary, "the doors of Montmorency and Guise whereby to enter the court with credit; those who rested only on his majesty fared badly."

The new reign commenced by severities, one of which was the tardy reparation of the most iniquitous act of Francis I.—the odious extirpation of the inoffensive Vaudois. The slaughterers were brought to trial for the capital crime, but, thanks to divers influences, they escaped conviction. However, one of them, the advocate-general Guérin, was hanged. The Sire de Vervins, who had surrendered Boulogne to the English in 1544, contrary to the wish of the inhabitants, was beheaded.

It was doubtless to the influence of Duke Francis of Guise and of his brother Charles, Archbishop of Rheims, that was due the better direction given, under this reign, to the foreign policy of France. The Lorraine princes turned the king's attention towards Germany, in recalling to his mind that there had formerly existed a Frank kingdom of Austrasia, the capital of which was Metz, and they sent assistance to the queen-dowager of Scotland, their sister, who refused to betroth her daughter, Mary Stuart, to the young King of England, Edward VI. Montmorency, against the advice of the majority of his colleagues, recommenced hostilities against England, and meditated a descent upon its shores. Plans were procured of all the English fortresses, and soundings taken of the Thames, and an understanding come to with Ireland, as had already been done with Scotland. The execution of these measures was not carried so far, Boulogne alone being vigorously pressed, and the English restored it for the fifth part of the sum stipulated in the treaty. Edward VI. also renounced the pensions which Henry VIII. had claimed.

In 1552, another war commenced with the emperor. Henry II. leagued himself secretly with Maurice of Saxe, one of the emperor's generals, and an alliance was made with the Protestant princes of Germany, who joined with each other to defend their rights and liberties against the unjust usurpations of Charles V. The emperor, taken unawares by Maurice of Saxe, was nearly made prisoner in Innsprück, and was forced to flee at night by torchlight in a litter, in spite of a terrible storm (May 1552). At this news, Henry marched with 38,000 men into Lorraine. Toul opened its gates, but Metz, a free and flourishing city, would only admit the chiefs of the army; the soldiers, however, followed, and Metz became French. From that day until the recent misfortunes incurred by France in the Franco-German war (1870), Metz was her bulwark on that frontier. An attempt was made upon Strasbourg, another great free city, by the same means, but the Strasbourgers replied by cannon shots. Henry could only boast of having watered his steeds in the Rhine. On his return, he entered Verdun, and those three cities have figured since that epoch in the list of French provinces under the name of the three bishoprics.

That audacious advance on the part of France towards her ancient limits irritated the emperor more than the treason of Maurice. He signed with the Lutherans the treaty of Passau, which secured their liberties from future invasion, and left him free to return with all his forces, and all his hatred against his eternal enemy. He entered Lorraine at the head of 60,000 men. Francis de Guise threw himself into Metz, with the most brilliant chivalry of the kingdom. The place was large and straggling, and the fortifications weak; but defences, at which the nobles worked with their own hands, were hurriedly raised. Charles appeared before it, 19th of October 1552, with the entire confidence of quickly regaining it. After firing 14,000 cannon shots against the walls, he opened a breach one hundred feet wide, but could not even give the assault, for behind each mass of

crumbled wall the besiegers found another, with ditches, barricades, and mines, which frustrated their labours and exhausted their efforts. With November the rains had come, with December the cold and typhus. The imperial army had lost a third of its effective strength, when Charles decided on raising the siege. On the 15th of January 1553, the last corps quitted the camp, leaving behind a host of wounded and dying. D'Aumale, now, by his father's death, Duke of Guise, showed great humanity to the prisoners who fell into his hands, a quality which, at that time, was rare in the bloody annals of war.



METZ.

Several campaigns made by Charles did not repair the repulse sustained at Metz; and France appearing to grow young again under its new king, the emperor became weary of that struggle which he had carried on for thirty-five years. His mother, Joanna, died in April 1556, and

in the autumn of that year, Charles V. put into execution the extraordinary act he had for some time meditated, that of resigning his vast dominions and retiring from the world. He ceded to his only son, Philip II., Flanders, Italy, and Spain, and in the October following he also resigned the empire to his brother Ferdinand, retiring into Estremadura, and seeking, in the monastery of St. Justus, that repose which is never found by the inordinately ambitious.

The house of Austria thus became divided. But at the moment when Philip II. lost Germany, he seemed to gain England by his second marriage with the queen of that country, Mary Tudor. France was now, and in the future, threatened seriously by that domination which compressed her on three sides, and which might again bring upon her an English invasion, against which she could no longer expect aid from Germany. Henry II. had signed with Charles V. in 1556 the truce of Vaucelles; he broke it the same year, not to allow Philip II. the time to strengthen himself. The pope who then wore the tiara, Paul IV., was a fiery old man, who became alarmed at seeing the Spaniards so near him as at Naples and Milan. The king and the pontiff united. An army under Montmorency was sent towards the Low Countries, and another under Guise into Italy. It was sought to confine Philip to Spain. Henry II. aimed at aggrandising himself on the north with neighbouring provinces easy to hold, and one of his sons received the promise of the crown of Naples, which the Duke of Guise, a descendant on the female side of the house of Anjou, hoped to take for him. The plan was well combined. The energetic Paul IV. placing his spiritual power at the service of France and the Italian cause, launched an excommunication against *the very Catholic king*.

Philip II. opposed to Montmorency, the Duke of Savoy, Philibert-Emanuel, who, despoiled of his states by France, expected everything from Spain; and to Guise, the Duke of Alba, a true Spaniard, thoroughly devoted to the church, but more to his king. Guise, received in

triumph at Rome by Paul IV., penetrated into the Abruzzi, but failed near Civitella, before the skilful tactics of his adversary. He was saved from further mortifications by a hasty recall to France, where his presence was required to avert still greater disasters. Philibert-Emanuel, after a feigned attack upon Champagne, marched suddenly upon St. Quentin, where he



ST. QUENTIN.

was joined by 7000 Englishmen. It was a place without walls, munitions, or provisions. Admiral Coligny, nephew to the constable Montmorency, threw himself into it with 700 men. Montmorency was approaching to victual it, but posted himself so near the enemy with an army very inferior in numbers, and took such little precaution to secure free movement, that he was compelled to fight without having joined up his rear. He was attacked by the Spaniards with so much celerity, that he had not time to range his troops in order of battle, and Philibert-Emanuel turned his position, assailing him in front and rear, and completely defeating him. Four thousand men

were slain, six hundred of whom were gentlemen. All the artillery was taken except four pieces, and the constable, with many other noblemen, were made prisoners. There were more than 10,000 killed or wounded.

"Is my son in Paris?" inquired Charles V., on learning in the depth of his retreat that disaster of France. But Philip, unskilled in war, and no less obstinate than ignorant, instead of allowing the Duke of Savoy to march directly upon Paris, commanded him to carry on the siege of St. Quentin. Coligny knowing that the safety of France depended upon his holding out, made heroic efforts to prolong the defence. Seventeen days after the battle the town was taken, but the interval enabled Henry to assume a posture of defence, and Philip II. after having taken Ham and Catalet, returned to the Low Countries with those small results of a victory, which promised to be as disastrous for France as Poitiers or Agincourt.

Henry II. had recalled Guise in all haste from Italy. The duke's return greatly revived the spirits of the French, and the nobles received him with open arms. Guise did not disappoint the universal expectation. Whilst a movement of troops drew the attention of the enemy in the direction of Luxembourg, the duke filed off towards Calais, which he unexpectedly invested (1st Jan. 1558). The English, reckoning upon the defences of the place, and on the marshes by which it was surrounded, had left only 900 men therein. Two forts covered the town; that of Nieullay on the land side, and that of Risbanck towards the sea. Guise furiously attacked the first and carried it (Jan. 3), and the other fell on the same day into his hands. The body of the place was bombarded on the 6th, and on the 8th the garrison capitulated. The last disgraceful remembrance of the Hundred Years' War was then effaced; and the English no longer possessed an inch of ground in France. It was a terrible blow to Mary of England. She was heard to say that, when dead, the name of Calais would be found engraven upon her heart. The same blow destroyed the Anglo-Spanish alliance. Elizabeth, who succeeded her sister Mary, caused Protes-

tantism to triumph throughout England, and became the irreconcilable enemy of the King of Spain.

In April 1559, the ascendancy of the Duke of Guise was raised still higher by the marriage of the Dauphin to his niece Mary, the young Queen of Scotland. Shortly afterwards, a peace was concluded at Chateau-Cambresis between Henry and Philip. It was in order to be free to wage a cruel war against heresy that Henry showed that fatal precipitation. But time for it was not given to him. To cement the peace, two marriages were stipulated for by the treaty. Henry's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, was to espouse Philip II., already twice a widower; and Henry's sister, Margaret, the Duke of Savoy. Brilliant festivities were given before the departure of the princesses. Tournaments at this period were in great favour, and Henry displayed much address in those military sports. On this occasion three days' splendid tourneys and carousals were given. On the third day, after several brilliant passes, and when the games seem finished, the king wished, before he retired, to run a last course against the Count Montgomery, the captain of his Scottish guard. The latter was very unwilling to accept the king's challenge, and excused himself as well as he could; but Henry would take no denial. Both ran their course valiantly, the lances shivered into splinters, but the count did not lower quickly enough the truncheon which remained in his hand, and which striking the visor of the king's helmet raised it, and a splinter entered his eye. Henry fell mortally wounded; and eleven days afterwards he expired, at the age of forty-one. This was a great loss, less for Henry II. individually, than because he left by his death the royal power to children. The authority of the king was then absolute; held by a strong hand it would have conjured the perils into which theological novelties and ambitions of all sorts were about to plunge the state; three kings, minors by age or in mind, were going to deliver up France a prey, during thirty years, to the horrors of a religious and political war.

TENTH PERIOD.

THE RELIGIOUS WARS.

Francis II. (1559-1560).—Francis II. and his three young brothers were the sole remaining descendants of the house of Valois. They were all minors, Francis being only in his seventeenth year at his accession. The law declared the king of age at thirteen; but at sixteen, Francis was still without a will of his own, and under the tutelage of his mother, Catherine de' Medici. The character of the widow of Henry II. had not yet developed itself. She was known to be witty but superstitious, full of taste for the fine arts and delicate modes of life, but without much moral severity. The many outrages which she had had to suffer from the triumphant Diana of Poitiers, had effaced in her all distinction between good and evil, and had left in her heart only one good feeling, her affection for her children. All her efforts were employed to preserve power to her sons; and, to succeed therein, she made use, without hesitation, of every means, from gallantry even to assassination. That perverse policy was destined to meet with its chastisement. In the hands of this Italian princess, the crown of Valois, stained with blood, fell and was nearly broken in pieces on the pavement of the streets.

The young bride of Francis II., Mary Stuart, kept for a short time Catherine de' Medici from power. Henry II. had married his son to that daughter of James V. and Mary of Lorraine, to secure to himself the aid of Scotland against England. Beautiful, full of grace, wit, and varied acquirements, the happy influence which the youthful queen exercised over all, together with the

empire she had over the king, might have been turned to the good of the state, if she had had skilful advisers around her; but wholly devoted to pleasure, she entrusted state affairs to her two uncles, the Cardinal of Lorraine and Duke Francis of Guise. To the first was confided the charge of the civil affairs, and to the second all that belonged to the war department. It was placing the entire government of the country in their hands. Catherine de' Medici had, however, "the general superintendence of the government," an imposing title, nothing more.

There were other candidates for power, some on account of their birth, others through ambition; the Bourbons and the Montmorencys. The house of Bourbon had for its chief, Anthony, who had married Jane d'Albret, heiress of the kingdom of Navarre, and his two brothers, Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, and Louis, Prince of Condé. They were the nearest kinsmen of the Valois, and Anthony, in the case of a minority, could claim the regency; but, since the constable's treason, the Bourbons had been in some disgrace. The old and stubborn Constable de Montmorency was no longer able to bear the burthen of office. The two Guises remained, therefore, masters of the king, the court, and the executive power.

Ere long, murmurs arose at the authority usurped by the Guises, exercised as it was with arrogance and partiality. The princes of the blood, Anthony of Bourbon and Condé, were indignant at being excluded from the government. The higher nobles angrily beheld all power in the hands of foreigners, the Scottish queen, the Italian queen-mother, the Lorraine Guises; and several plots, chiefly fomented by the Huguenots, were formed to displace the latter. The most formidable of these plots was the conspiracy of Amboise, the object of which was to carry off the king from the Guises in order to deprive them of their authority. The plot being discovered and frustrated, the parties concerned in it were punished with ruthless severity.

The Guises had gained one of those victories which weaken the victors. So many executions for a conspiracy

which might have been easily stifled, excited a widespread horror. The Duke of Guise, appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom on this occasion, with illimitable powers, had shown himself to be most merciless. He went so far as to demand the introduction of the Inquisition into France in order to suppress the Huguenot heresy. The Chancellor l'Hôpital, the only honest minister at that corrupt epoch, had frequently used his best endeavours to oppose the violent and pernicious counsels of the Guises. To struggle against the duke and cardinal, he convoked the notables at Fontainebleau. Coligny repaired thither, knelt before the king, and presented a petition from the Huguenots of Normandy, who asked for liberty of conscience. The Cardinal of Lorraine fiercely opposed that concession; but the bishops of Valence and Vienne brought about a decision to suspend all pursuit of the Huguenots until after the convocation of the States-general (Dec. 1560). It was urgent that the voice of the nation should make itself heard above the tumult of rival ambitions and jarring creeds. The Guises linked themselves with the pitiless policy of the King of Spain, who wrote to them: "If you wish to chastise the rebels, I am at your disposal;" and they assembled an army. The Bourbons and the Colignys raised troops of gentlemen, and by the aid of the emissaries of Calvin, organised resistance in the southern provinces. Fighting was already going on in several quarters.

The deputies of the states arrived at Orleans in the midst of this effervescence. The king of Navarre and the Prince of Condé had gone thither, against the advice of their friends. The Guises who had this time proofs against Condé of his complicity in the Amboise plot, caused him to be arrested as soon as he entered the city, and to get rid of his brother, against whom nothing could be proved, they sought to have him killed in the king's anti-chamber. The young king's heart failed him, and he dared not give the signal. This idea of assassination was destined to be realised one day against those who had conceived it: both Guises became its victims.

A commission, however, was named to rapidly institute the trial of Condé; the prince's fate was fixed beforehand; he was condemned to death, and would have perished but for l'Hôpital, who refused to sign the sentence, and thus gained time. To gain time was to save Condé's life, for the young king was then dying: he expired on the 5th December, after a reign of seventeen months.

France might have quickly forgotten that unhappy young prince, if his reign had not had attached to it two remembrances: the one terrible—the power of the Guises, and the beginning of the wars of religion; the other pleasant, that of the young and lovely Mary Stuart.

Charles IX. (1560-1574)—**Regency of Catherine de' Medici.**—Death, which had just deprived the queen-mother of one of her children, gave her power, since her second son, Charles IX., was only in his eleventh year. She utterly repudiated the policy which had recently triumphed, confirmed the Guises in their offices, but named Anthony of Bourbon, who had deserted the Huguenots, lieutenant-general of the realm, and released Condé. Her chief adviser was l'Hôpital. The latter proposed to restrain the ambitious and weaken the factious by a wise religious tolerance and by civil reforms. Catherine adopted this programme of an honest man, thinking that she saw in it a means of opposing one party to another.

But it was in vain that the venerable chancellor exhorted to patriotism and religious toleration, as both Catherine and Guise were alike bent on the exercise of supreme authority. l'Hôpital proceeded resolutely, however, with his reforms, hoping to take the nation along with him. The Duke of Guise, the Constable Montmorency, and Marshal St. André, threatened with a recall of large sums of money which they had extorted from the easy good nature of the preceding kings, quitted the court and formed a secret alliance, a *triumvirate*, to defend their monies, not, as they said, their religion then in peril. l'Hôpital, without allowing himself to be distracted by these intrigues, continued his policy of conciliation. The queen supported the chancellor; she even went further at

this moment than he. Thus she ordered l'Hôpital to issue the edict of Jan. 1562, which authorised the Calvinistic worship in the open country, whilst prohibiting it in the walled towns; suspended all penalties levelled against heretics, but interdicting them from troubling the ancient religion. It was the first real act of tolerance.

The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine were recalled to Paris to act against l'Hôpital by St. André, and by the King of Navarre, who had abandoned the Protestant party, in the hope of obtaining from Philip II. the restitution of his little kingdom. On the 1st of March 1562, the Duke of Guise passed through Vassy in Champagne. It was Sunday, and he stopped there to hear mass. The devotional singing of six or seven hundred Protestants collected together in a neighbouring barn reached his ears. Some of his attendants sought to stop what they considered an insult and a bravado to their duke, and, upon the refusal of the Protestants, drew their swords. The latter defended themselves with stones. The duke, hastening to the assistance of his followers, received a blow in the face from a stone; whereupon all his suite rushed upon those unarmed men, killed sixty of them, and wounded more than two hundred, without distinction of age or sex. Some few days afterwards, at Sens, of which the Cardinal of Lorraine was archbishop, others were massacred on returning from their worship.

First Civil War (1562).—This was the signal for a series of wars which, seven times suspended by precarious treaties, were seven times renewed, and, during thirty-two years, covered France with blood and ruins. At the news of the Vassy massacre, the Huguenots everywhere took up arms; the Duke of Guise carried off the king by main force, with his mother, from Fontainebleau, and brought him to Paris, where the Protestants were in small numbers. But out of Paris, it was believed that they could reckon upon one-tenth of the population, and they had with them the best part of the provincial nobles.

"If any one were to relate," says Mezerai, "all that passed at this time in different parts of France, all the

taking and retaking of towns—the infinity of little combats—the furies—the massacres, it would take up a great many volumes." The chief events can only be briefly mentioned.

In the north the Catholic army, which Anthony of Bourbon had joined, was led by the Duke of Guise to the attack of Rouen. At the end of a few days the place was carried, but the King of Navarre received a wound there of which he died soon after. In the same year (1562) a battle was fought at Dreux, in Normandy, between Guise and Condé. Condé broke through the Catholic centre, wounded and took prisoner the Constable Montmorency; but the Swiss restored the fight, and Guise gained the victory by a flank movement. The Prince of Condé was also taken prisoner. It was a great success for Guise. Of his two influential rivals, one, Marshal St. André, was killed; the other, Montmorency, was a prisoner, and he even held in his hands the chief of the Huguenot army. Coligny too, who had then taken command of the Huguenots, was obliged to retire from the field. Guise treated Condé very chivalrously, made him share the same bed with himself, and slept soundly beside that mortal enemy who owned that he could not close his eyes all night.

In February 1563, in order to cut off communications between the Protestants of the north and those of the south, Guise laid siege to Orleans. The city would not have long resisted, had it not been for the crime of a fanatic. One evening, as the duke was returning alone to the camp from visiting his family, he received a mortal wound in the shoulder by a pistol-shot fired at him by a Protestant named Poltrot de Méré. He was put to death with savage cruelty. Guise survived his wound only six days; but before he died, he exhorted Catherine to make peace with the Huguenots. She accordingly made peace with them, granting them very favourable conditions; but though the conditions were never fulfilled, hostilities did not break out again for about five years.

Guise dead, Condé and Montmorency prisoners, the

queen-mother was left mistress of the government. She well knew what those ambitious men mainly wanted—the triumph of their faith doubtless, but more especially that of their power. She saw that civil war had shaken respect for the royal authority. It was that consideration which chiefly prompted her to offer peace to Condé.

In order to ascertain, if possible, the real strength of the Huguenots, Catherine made a royal progress with the young king through different parts of the kingdom. At Bayonne she had a conference with the Duke of Alva, the most terrible instrument of Philip II., and who, like his master, believed in the lawfulness of useful crimes. The Protestants easily persuaded themselves that an alliance between the two crowns, concluded under the auspices of such a man, had no other object than the extirpation of heresy; and this conviction impelled them once more to unsheathe the sword. Their first enterprise was an unsuccessful attempt to possess themselves of the person of the young king, who was then at Meaux. This was an overt act of war. Condé next boldly blockaded Paris. The Parisians compelled the veteran Montmorency, contrary to his judgment, to march out and repel him in the plain of St. Denis. A brave soldier, but a bad general, the constable made an unskilful disposition of his troops, and was slain. The field of battle remained to the Catholics, but the Huguenots returned next morning to again offer battle, which the royal army did not accept (1567). Catherine looked upon the result of the day as a great victory. "I have two great obligations to Heaven," said she: "the one, that the constable has taken vengeance upon the king's enemies; the other, that the king's enemies have taken vengeance upon the constable." She had now got rid of all whose influence she was afraid of, and hoped to rule undisturbed for the future.

Shortly afterwards, Condé received a reinforcement of 9000 German infantry, and the queen-mother, finding the royal forces too weak to contend with the Protestants, was persuaded by l'Hôpital to sign the peace of Longjumeau (March 23, 1568). This peace was of short dura-

tion and ill kept. Catherine de' Medici became desirous of ending a war, so continually renewed, by a stroke of Italian state-craft. It was proposed to seize upon Condé and Coligny in Burgundy, and also the widow of Anthony of Bourbon, Jane d'Albret, in Bearn, in order to subject them to the same fate as that of the Counts de Horn and d'Egmont, beheaded at Brussels by the sanguinary Duke of Alva. All three escaped. Condé and Coligny, after a flight of one hundred leagues, reached La Rochelle, which in the last war had taken part with them; and were there joined by Jane d'Albret with her son, Henry of Bearn.

Catherine had missed her aim, but thought herself prepared for war. She declared it by launching an edict which forbade, under pain of death, the exercise of "the pretended reformed religion," and ordered the Protestant ministers to quit the kingdom in fifteen days. The royal army was placed under the young Duke of Anjou, whom Catherine sought to put forward, with a view to be able, if necessary, to oppose him to his brother Charles IX.; Tavannes and Biron had the direction.

A first campaign, during a very severe winter, was without result. In the following spring, Tavannes surprised Coligny with the rearguard only, near Jarnac (13th March 1569). Condé, at the head of 300 horse, entered the field of battle with his arm in a sling, suffering from a wound received on the previous evening. At the moment of charging, a kick from a restive horse broke his leg; but, heedless of the accident, he rushed upon the enemy, shouting to his followers:—"Remember in what state Louis of Bourbon entered into battle for Christ and his country!" This impetuous charge made at first a gap in the enemy's lines, but the prince's horse being killed, Condé fell, and a terrible combat was waged around him. An old man named Vergue, who had led into battle twenty-five men-at-arms — his sons, grandsons, and nephews, made the most desperate efforts to cover the prince. He was slain, and fifteen of his family with him, "all in a heap." Condé gave his gauntlet to a gentleman,

when one of the captains of the Duke of Anjou's guard, Montesquiou, who recognised him, levelled his pistol point-blank, and shot him through the head. The death of that brave and energetic prince was a great loss to the party of which he had for nine years been the head and right arm.

The Protestants thought of abandoning the campaign, and of shutting themselves up in La Rochelle, but a woman raised their drooping spirits. Jane d'Albret presented herself in the midst of the discouraged army with her son and the young prince of Condé. "My friends," said she, "here are two new chiefs whom God gives you, and two orphans whom I confide to your care." Henry, Prince of Bearn, then fifteen years of age, became the declared head of the Protestants; but, on account of his youth, the command of their forces was given to Coligny. Coligny had many of the qualities necessary for the leader of a party in such a war. An austere and conscientious Protestant, he was loved alike by ministers and soldiers.

In the following October, the Catholics gained another victory at Moncontour, which, however, was as useless as that of Jarnac. In 1570, Coligny carried the war into Burgundy, where he obtained the advantage, cut his way through the Catholic army, and drew near Paris. Catherine triumphed in the council-chamber, as events clearly showed. Unable to make an end, by war, of that party—often beaten but never subdued—some other means, she thought, must be resorted to. To disarm the Protestants, she accorded the peace of St. Germain under very favourable conditions. At the news of this peace, a universal cry arose amongst the Catholics, both at home and abroad. Catherine de' Medici was unmoved by it, and followed up her new policy. She contrived a deep-laid plot to calm the suspicions of the Protestants, and then get rid of them. The marriage of the young Prince of Bearn with Margaret, sister of Charles IX., she averred, would lastingly cement the peace. It was for the interest of France to employ abroad the warlike and mutinous spirit of the Protestant nobility; she accepted,

therefore, the propositions made to her by Coligny, to conduct his co-religionists into the Low Countries, where the Duke of Alva had caused 18,000 persons to perish under torture. Such an enterprise was agreeable to the Huguenots, and seemed a return to the old foreign policy, forgotten since the death of Henry II. Coligny saw, in a war with Spain, a means of maintaining gloriously and surely peace in France.

Charles IX. was then in his twenty-first year. Of a character at once feeble and violent, spoiled by absolute power, and by his Italian favourites who perverted his heart, he had played sufficiently well, and for some time unknown to himself, the part which his mother desired. But now he had become impatient of her yoke, and envious of the victories attributed to his brother. Fickle and excitable, he entered with ardour into those new projects, wrote to Coligny, to Jane d'Albret, and urged the prompt celebration of the marriage of Henry of Bearn with his sister. The Queen of Navarre decided to visit Paris, and the admiral followed her thither. After their chief, a number of Huguenot gentlemen hastened to take their share in the festivities and good graces of the king.

Catherine herself was terrified at having succeeded but too well. The king saw matters no longer save through the eyes of Coligny. He pressed the legate for a dispensation for his sister's marriage, which the pope was unwilling to grant: he caused troops to be raised for Coligny, and assembled a fleet against Flanders. Catherine remonstrated with her son, but was received with a bad grace: he seemed then decided to "acquire glory and reputation in the Spanish war," and answered his mother that he had no greater enemies than herself and her son, the Duke of Anjou.

In the midst of the preparations for the marriage of the young prince and princess, the Queen of Navarre died suddenly—not without a suspicion of poison. When the marriage was celebrated, a riot was with difficulty suppressed. All the pulpits thundered maledictions

against the Huguenots, and the latter were not wanting in bravado in the streets.

Catherine then determined upon a most Machiavelian plot: this was to have Coligny assassinated by the Guises, reckoning that the Huguenots would avenge their chief upon the latter; then the royal troops should be held in readiness to fall upon both parties as violators of the public peace. On the 12th August, as Coligny was returning from the Louvre, he was fired at from behind a grated window by one Maurevel, an assassin by profession, in the pay of the Duke de Guise. He was wounded in two places, but it was thought not dangerously. At the first report of the outrage, the king visited Coligny in his bed-chamber, and expressed his concern at the accident, and swore that he would avenge him.

Next day, the king seemed to hold the same sentiments, but the queen-mother represented to him that both parties were ready to attack each other; that each would choose a chief; and that there would be nothing left to the king save his title, if even that. The king still resisted. His mother cited the Italian proverb, that "gentleness is often cruelty, and cruelty gentleness." Then she threatened to quit the Court with her other son, the Duke of Anjou, that she might not witness the ruin of their house, nor longer behold such weakness and cowardice. She had well calculated the effect of that last word upon a violent temper. Charles, until then gloomy and immovable, suddenly exclaimed that, since it was found advisable to kill the admiral, he wished that they would slay all the Huguenots in France, "in order that not one should remain to reproach him afterwards."

The municipality of Paris was ready. It had for some time meditated this grand blow, and was quite prepared to secure its success. The bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois was to give the signal at three o'clock on the morning of the 24th August 1572—St. Bartholomew's day. They did not wait so long. At two o'clock the bell tolled, and, shortly after, the tocsin of all the other churches *answered it.*

Henry of Guise, d'Aumale, and others rushed to the house of Coligny at the first sound. A German, one Besme, a servant of the duke, was the first to enter the admiral's chamber, with his sword drawn. "Young man," said Coligny, in calm and intrepid tones, "you ought to reverence these grey hairs; but do what you think proper; my life can be shortened but very little." Besme answered by plunging his sword into Coligny's breast. Guise shouted from below: "Besme, hast thou finished him?" "He is done for," was the reply. "Throw him down, then, from the window." Coligny still breathed. Besme and the others threw him down into the court, where Guise, after having contemptuously spurned him with his foot, abandoned the body to the outrages of the populace. The head was cut off and carried as a trophy to the queen, who, it is said, had it embalmed, and sent it as a present to the pope.

The houses of the Huguenots had been marked with chalk, and a list had been drawn up of those who inhabited them. "Bleed them," shouted Tavannes, as he galloped through the streets; "blood-letting is as good in this month of August as in May." The greater number of the Protestants were butchered in their beds. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were brought before the king, who menaced them with death if they did not abjure their faith. All were slain with the exception of the two princes. The slaughter was carried on even inside the Louvre, and the Court ladies went in the morning to view the bodies. The number who perished is variously stated—some writers say 10,000, others 4000, others 2000—the last estimate being the most probable one.

When morning had dawned, the king stationed himself at one of the windows of the Louvre, which looked on the Seine, and, with a long arquebuse, fired upon the miserable Protestants who sought to save themselves by crossing the river; but, later in the day, when he saw so many corpses floating on the Seine, his thirst for blood left him; *he felt horror at what he had done, and wrote*

to the provinces in order to stop the contagion of the example, casting all the blame upon a quarrel which he said had broken out between the Guises and Colignys. The murders, notwithstanding, went on daily until the 17th of September.

The king, however, adopting his mother's advice, went, on the 26th, to take in full Parliament the responsibility of that dreadful night, and sent fresh orders to the governors of provinces, which extended the massacre to Meaux, Orleans, Saumur, Lyons, Bourges, Toulouse, Bordeaux, etc., where fifteen to twenty thousand victims perished. This great crime was useless, as crimes always are. The Protestants had lost their chiefs; but when the first moment of stupor had passed, they took up arms again in several cities with infurate rage; and their persecutors found that instead of extirpating heresy they had only made the heretics desperate. This the royal army experienced to its cost at the sieges of Sancerre and La Rochelle. The latter place was defended with so much vigour, that the Duke of Anjou found it expedient to negotiate, and a treaty was concluded with the entire Huguenot party (1573), granting them liberty of conscience at the very moment when Charles was receiving, for the St. Bartholomew, the boisterous and enthusiastic felicitations of the courts of Rome and Spain.

The shame of this reverse, remorse, the vehemence of a fiery nature and violent exercise in hunting, to which he devoted himself with frenzy, undermined the young king. A horrible malady consumed him—he was frequently attacked by convulsions, with an access of furious delirium, during which blood would gush from the pores, the nose, and ears. Bloody visions terrified him, and he heard lamentable cries in the air. This homicidal Valois, who died in his twenty-fourth year (30th May 1574)—his mind distracted by horrible phantoms, abandoned by every one (save by his old Huguenot nurse)—what a shocking spectacle does it present; what a proof of the impotence of crime to cheat the conscience of the guilty!

Henry III. (1574-1589).—The Duke of Anjou, heir-

presumptive of Charles IX., was in Poland at the moment of his brother's death. In consequence of negotiations prepared long beforehand, Catherine de' Medici had obtained from the Polish nobility a crown for her favourite son—for him who had been called the Victor of Jarnac and Montcontour. No sooner did he possess it than he took a disgust to that "Sarmatian land," the rude but energetic nobles of which were strangers to those refinements of luxury and depravation with which the corrupt civilization of Italy had inoculated France. On the news of his brother's death, he fled from his capital by night, like a malefactor. Pursued by his subjects who wished to retain him, he never stopped until he reached the Austrian territories. The pleasures of Vienna and Venice long held him captive, so that he did not set foot in his new kingdom until two months had passed since furtively quitting the old one.

This prince was the king the least fitted to dominate the state of things his brother had bequeathed him. The victories obtained in his name by Tavannes had exacted too much from his reputation. The abuse of pleasure had extinguished within him those early sparks of valour which had rendered him at first as brave as his ancestors; his sole occupation was now centred in childish or womanish amusements, when he was not given up to extravagant debauchery. The depravation of his heart had vitiated the brilliant qualities of his mind—he was eloquent only in lying, and skilful only in deception. It would be severe, perhaps, to denounce his ostentatious devotion as an impious imposture; but all his religion consisted in certain exterior formalities. He thought that by fasting and a few strokes of discipline he could salve his conscience and settle accounts with heaven. His brother, Charles IX., had sometimes had thoughts and projects worthy of a king. Henry had little else than puerile pursuits; and d'Aubigné knew not, on seeing him so careful of his toilette, of his complexion, of the whiteness of his hands and face, whether he saw "a king-woman or a man-queen." Charles IX. was wicked

through anger, and occasionally; Henry, by principle, and continually; and, moreover, he never knew that which, perhaps, may be urged in mitigation of his brother's crimes—remorse.

His first acts showed what might be expected of him. At Turin, he repaid with a prodigal magnificence the hospitality of the Duke of Savoy, by giving up to him Pignerol, Perouse, and Savigliano, the last remains of the conquests of Francis I. beyond the Alps. Scarcely had he entered France, ere he commanded the Protestants to become Catholic, or quit the kingdom. Those were menacing words; but the reformers were reassured on seeing all overt action limited to the despatch of certain officers into the southern provinces, then in great agitation, and to processions, in which the king figured, of flagellants who went through the streets flogging their shoulders “for the remission of their sins.” Henry next made a solemn entry into Paris, when he greatly scandalised the seriously-minded inhabitants by having around him a great number of monkeys, parrots, and little dogs.

Massacre and war had swept away the great Protestant chiefs: the Calvinists had no longer any others to guide them save men like the King of Navarre, who placed their interests foremost, their religion last. Thus, amongst people in whose breasts ambition or patriotism extinguished religious ardour, it was easy to understand one another. Already, during the malady of Charles IX., the Duke of Alençon, the King of Navarre, the new Prince of Condé, and the Montmorencys had formed the project of securing to themselves the government. At the decisive moment, Alençon's heart failed him and discovered all. Condé alone succeeded in escaping. Alençon and the King of Navarre were detained in a sort of custody, but made their escape—the one in September 1575, the other in the February following, and joined the Huguenots. The new king was greatly irritated at the secret dealings of his brother, and on several occasions Alençon stood in great peril of his life. A treaty with the Huguenots, however, was soon after concluded,

but the terms were considered much too favourable to the Protestants. As this peace seemed, indeed, a treason to the Catholic cause, the Catholics formed themselves into a league for the defence of their religion.

The chief promoter of this league was the Duke of Guise, a man in every way fitted to be the head of a party. The house of Lorraine had been restored to favour at court, and the king had just married a princess of that family. Henry of Guise, inferior to his father as a great soldier, and less magnanimous, had loftier and better-framed designs, and much greater skill in making religion serve as an instrument of his policy. He knew how to gather together into his own hands all the threads of that great Catholic conspiracy framed for the defence of the faith. It was he who drew up and circulated throughout France the constitutive act of the *Holy League*. Like his father, he was the idol of the Catholics. In the battle of Dormans, when he defeated the Protestants, he had been wounded in the cheek, an accident which increased his popularity, and obtained for him the surname of *Balafré*, or "the scarred." The king was induced to declare himself the head of the League, although the principles of the party were in reality subversive of his authority, but this Henry did not at first discover.

Though among the Catholics the worthy heir of the great Guise had been chosen their chief beforehand in this great religious contest, yet Henry of Guise carried his views much further; the League was only to be for him a stepping-stone to the throne. Henry III. was already lost in public opinion: pamphlets, the most audacious, lashed his hypocrisy and branded his manners. The Duke of Alençon was decried as an accomplice of the Huguenots, and moreover menaced with a brief existence. After them there were no other heirs but the Bourbons, heretic princes, unworthy to occupy the throne of the *very-Christian* king. Those set aside, the way was open to the faithful allies of Philip II. and the Holy Chair, to the murderer of Coligny, to the man who had signed a pact of blood with orthodoxy—the day of the St. Bar-

tholomew. New genealogies linked the house of Guise to the dynasty of Charlemagne. The descendants of Capet had only reigned by usurpation; Henry of Guise was called upon to strengthen the monarchy and the faith, by causing the Valois to be shut up in a cloister, "as Pepin, his ancestor, did Chiladeric." At least, so said a memoir found amongst the papers of an advocate who died at Lyons on his return from Rome.

The peace promised to the Huguenots was not kept, nor was war waged vigorously against them. Henry III. would not employ Guise therein through fear of aggrandising him still further. He really desired peace, and to win over some of his adversaries, he instituted the order of the Holy Ghost, in remembrance of having been raised to the two thrones of Poland and France on the day of Pentecost. He reckoned that, by giving the riband of his order to the principal partisans of Guise and Bourbon, he would bring them back to himself. It was too much to expect from a mere whim. So the clash of arms and the flames of civil war again broke forth, and again died away.

But the king's conduct tainted his best acts. Merciless pamphlets unveiled the turpitudes of that licentious and ferocious court of the last Valois, in which murder alternated with pleasure. The evenings devoted to feasts and balls, the mornings to murderous duels, when the meeting was not forestalled by an ambush. Thus the royal favourite, St. Mégrin, was assassinated by the followers of Guise; Dugast by those of the King of Navarre; Bussy d'Amboise by the Count of Montsoreau. Another minion of the king, Villequier, killed his wife; a court lady killed her husband; and one Cimier slew his brother. Each prince had his hired assassins, who stabbed their victims in the back, and his favourites who struck face to face. Three of the king's minions fought on one occasion against three friends of Guise. Four were left dead on the ground, and among them two of the king's friends. Henry showed signs of a scandalous grief, and replaced his slain favourites by Joyeuse and d'Epernon, who were

no better. On the marriage of the former, he expended the enormous sum of 120,000 crowns. To meet such outrageous expenditure, the taxation was increased annually, and discontent became general.

A short war between the king of Navarre and Henry III., which broke out without cause, and which ended without reason, showed the progress which the ideas of disorder had made; unprincipled ambition, and the irreligious spirit of revenge, appeared solely to absorb and guide men's minds. It was necessary to arrest these turbulent spirits by some great thought, to push them upon some serious enterprise, to resume, in fact, the project of Coligny, and make war abroad in order not to have civil war at home. France had then a choice of two battle-fields, one of which was within her reach and entire convenience. The King of Spain, Philip II., was invading Portugal, and Catherine de' Medici had pretensions to that crown; the Low Countries were trampled on by the Spaniards, and several provinces called for a liberator. Henry sent a fleet to Antonio de Crato, a candidate for the throne of Portugal, and in aid of the Flemings an army to his brother (Alençon), to whom he was reconciled, and on whom he conferred the dukedom of Anjou, but both quite insufficient, and both of those enterprises being officially disavowed by him. The fleet was totally destroyed; the Duke of Anjou, after having been proclaimed Duke of Brabant and Count of Flanders, left without money, was forced to evacuate the country, and died a few months after his return to France. He long indulged the hope of marrying Elizabeth, Queen of England, and desired to make himself King of the Netherlands, but all his great projects were destined to fail, and he died, humiliated and dejected, in June 1584. The provinces of the Low Countries, which lost at the same time William of Orange, assassinated by an emissary of Spain, made a seductive offer to Henry III.; they gave themselves to him, to France, if he would deliver them from the Inquisition and Philip II. But it was too late.

The death of the Duke of Anjou, brother and heir of Henry III., had mooted definitively a question calculated to rekindle in France all the religious and political passions. Until then it had not been dreamed of, save vaguely, that a Bourbon, a relapsed heretic, could become the heir of Valois; now the danger existed. For Henry III., the last surviving son of Henry II. had no children, and it was believed that he had but few years to live. The League had been for some time in disorder: "Some," says l'Etoile, "cursing it openly, others ridiculing it." Suddenly, without any effort on the part of its leaders, it revived and extended itself in the hearts of the popular masses; instead of a secret society, a great revolutionary party arose. From Paris it spread itself over the provinces, and established, wherever it found itself the strongest, what an eminent historian calls a Reign of Terror (Thierry).

Henry of Guise saw clearly that the moment had come for striking heavy blows; and, without hesitation, he signed (31st Dec. 1584), with Philip II., the treaty of Joinville, by which the contracting parties bound themselves to extirpate sects and heresies; to exclude from the throne of France heretic princes, and to assure the Valois succession to Charles, the old Cardinal of Bourbon. The cardinal was put forward to conceal the pretensions of Guise until they could be openly revealed. The appearance of the manifesto of the League (31st March 1585) set all France on fire. This war has been called the War of the three Henrys: that is, Henry III., the King of Navarre, and the Duke of Guise.

The position of Henry III. had become very difficult. He found himself between two enemies whom he had long hoped to destroy by opposing one to the other: Guise and Bourbon, the Catholics and the Huguenots. He was inclined to declare himself against the Guises whom he detested; but he required that Henry of Navarre should turn Catholic, promising to thereupon recognise him as his heir. Henry refused.

The King of Navarre now prepared himself to face

every danger. He possessed the most brilliant courage, and the chief who is ever ready to risk his life at the sword's point is sure to win his soldiers' hearts. Brought up amongst the Pyrennean mountaineers, he equalled them in agility and hardihood. The vicissitudes through which he had passed had rendered his religion uncertain. Charles IX. had given him the option of "Death or the Mass!" He accepted the mass; but later he abjured it, and that abjuration was not destined to be the last. His forced residence at the court of the Valois had proved fatal to his morals. During several years he forgot the path of duty and fortune. After the Duke of Anjou's death, Mornay, the Huguenot pope, wrote to him: "Amusement is no longer seasonable. It is time that you courted France." Henry felt the truth of this: he forsook pleasure, and buckled on his cuirass.

Hostilities were without importance in 1586, but in 1587 the King of Navarre gained a signal victory over the League at Coutras; but this victory he failed to improve as he ought.

Henry III. returned to Paris from this last campaign doubly conquered, both by the League and the Huguenots. Jealous of the League, which daily treated him with increased insolence and tyranny, the Valois king knew not, and had not firmness to determine consistently which way to turn himself. Too weak to cope either with the King of Navarre or the Duke of Guise, he acted an insincere part towards both, sometimes treating openly with the one at the very moment that he was treating secretly with the other. At length Henry became the object of an extreme and general distrust and contempt. The Parisians, more especially, could not help making disparaging comparisons between him and the Duke of Guise, whom they idolised. Guise, by means of his agents, fomented the public disaffection, and several plots were formed to dethrone Henry, and confine him in a monastery.

These designs against the king becoming daily more formidable, Henry III. could no longer mistake the

position in which he stood. In abject terror, he forbade Guise to enter Paris, and surrounded himself with 4000 Swiss and several companies of guards. But Guise came in defiance of him, and was received with joyful acclamation by the populace, who accompanied him to the Louvre. The king received him pale with rage: "I sent you warning not to come hither," said he; and in spite of the duke's excuses, he would perhaps have had him assassinated at that first interview, if the queen-mother and his council had not dissuaded him, through fear of all Paris rising in arms. The king and the chief of the League fortified themselves, the one in the Louvre, the other in the Hotel de Guise, and began to negotiate. After two days had thus passed, the king caused a body of soldiers to be brought into the city, with orders to post themselves in the squares and principal places. When the Swiss troops were seen in the streets, it was thought that Henry III. meditated a St. Bartholomew of the Catholics. In two hours all Paris was in arms, and all the streets rendered impracticable by barricades.

The Count de Brissac had placed himself at the head of the people. The Swiss, assailed on all sides by a hail of balls and projectiles, were routed in disorder, and, little used to such warfare, cried out for quarter. Guise then issued forth with a wand in his hand, saved the Swiss who were on the point of being massacred, sent them back to the king with insulting contempt, and appeared all as though by enchantment. The king, during the night, found means to escape from the gardens at the back of the palace, and mounting a horse, took the road to Chartres, leaving Guise almost entire master of the capital.

There was now a King of Paris and a King of France. Negotiations still went on, and Henry III. was seen with astonishment to accord that which, two months previously, he refused in face of the barricades. He consented to disgrace his favourite Epernon, swore not to lay down arms until after the destruction of the heretics, declared every prince not Catholic to have

forfeited his rights to the throne, appointed Guise Lieutenant-general, and convoked the States at Blois. It seemed, therefore, that all he had gained by his flight from Paris, was that the States should not be held there. But for that he had his reasons. It was the object of Guise to procure from this assembly a ratification of the king's other concessions, and he spared no pains to secure its members to his own interests.

The Invincible Armada had just been destroyed, and it was thought that the ally of Philip II. might be next attacked. Some advised that Guise should be set at defiance; others that he should be legally imprisoned after a formal trial. "To throw the Guisard into prison," replied the king, "were to put into a net a wild boar stronger than our cords could hold." Henry, prompted by the evil counsel of his prime favourite d'Eperron, resolved to rid himself of his ambitious subject by resorting to the detestable design of assassination. He determined, if no one else could be found to strike the duke, to deal the blow himself. On the 22nd December, Guise was advised to leave Blois. "Who quits the game loses it," said the Archbishop of Lyons, and Guise added: "My affairs are at such a point, that were I to see death enter at the window, I would not go out by the door to avoid it." The king had apprised him that, proposing to pass the Christmas holidays at Notre Dame de Clery, a privy council would be held at six o'clock next morning. Henry III. made a strong appeal to his body-guard, the disbanding of which Guise had recently demanded. The members of this band, being chiefly the royal minions, eagerly declaring their devotion, the king himself distributed daggers, and posted them in his cabinet, his bed-chamber, and upon the staircase. At the same time, with that devotion, so peculiarly Italian, which mingles crime and prayer so easily together, he commanded a mass to be said by one of his chaplains, "in order that God might give him grace to be able to carry out his enterprise."

The duke arrived later than was expected. On his

way, he received another note warning him of his fate. "It is the ninth," said he. Having entered the council-chamber, he sat down by the fire. "I feel cold," he remarked to his brother, the cardinal, "and I have a pain at the heart." A few moments afterwards, a secretary of state summoned the duke to attend the king. When he approached the door of the royal apartment, and was in the act of raising the arras, one of the forty-five seized him by the arm, and plunged his dagger into his breast, exclaiming: "Die, traitor!" Every weapon was then raised to strike him. "Ah! my friends, my friends!" cried the duke, and although he was stabbed on all sides, he dragged his murderers from one end of the chamber to the other with extended arms, as far as the foot of the king's bed, where he fell covered with wounds. Henry went from the scene of death to his mother's chamber, and said exultingly: "Congratulate me, Madam, I am once more King of France, for I have just put to death the King of Paris!" The queen-mother, in great agony, for she was then on her death-bed, raised herself in a sitting posture, saying: "Do you indeed know what you have done, my son? Heaven grant you may find that you have done well!" Dating from that hour, Henry was no longer King of France. The deed of blood was, in the significant words of Fouché, "worse than a crime, it was a blunder." Thus Catherine, on the brink of eternity, saw with despair in her soul the futility of all her worldly schemes, and the ruin and misery they had brought upon her race.

No sooner was the death of Guise known in Paris than the grief and indignation of the people knew no bounds. Processions traversed the capital night and day. In one of them, a thousand persons carrying tapers suddenly extinguished them, exclaiming, "May God extinguish thus the race of Valois!" The Nemesis quickly followed by the knife of the Monk Clement.

Henry had done nothing yet whereby to profit by the murder. Ere she expired, his mother had told him "that he must now act with promptitude and resolution." He

thought that there was still time to negotiate. He had not then saved himself by the ambush of Blois; and, instead of "finding himself a king," saw himself on the point of losing his crown. He had, however, advanced the fortunes of the King of Navarre, into whose arms he was reduced to throw himself. The whole country was in a state of alarm and commotion. Entire provinces, and nearly all the chief cities, revolted. Utterly incapable of effecting anything for himself, he besought the Béarnais to come to him, and to have compassion on his distressed condition. It was not without some hesitation and misgiving, arising partly from his abhorrence of the king's crimes, and partly from suspicion of his sincerity, that the prince could bring himself to pay attention to his entreaties. Commanding himself to heaven, however, the Béarnais crossed the Loire, and was received by Henry III. in the park of Plessis-les-Tours, and a reconciliation took place which seems to have inspired the king with some degree of courage and energy.

The junction of the Protestant and royal armies under the same standard completely changed the nature of the war. It was no longer feudal Protestantism, but the democratic League that menaced royalty. Monarchy was entering upon a struggle with the Catholic masses revolted against it. With their united forces of 38,000 men, the two kings appeared before Paris in the end of July 1589.

The great city was terrified. It had not expected, and was totally unprepared for a siege. The Parisians had lost heart and energy. The Duke of Mayenne, the surviving brother of Guise, newly appointed head of the League, came to the relief of the capital with the few troops he could muster. The fate of Paris was trembling in the balance, when a fanatical hand became the instrument which averted the impending destruction, and caused an entire revolution in the affairs of the kingdom.

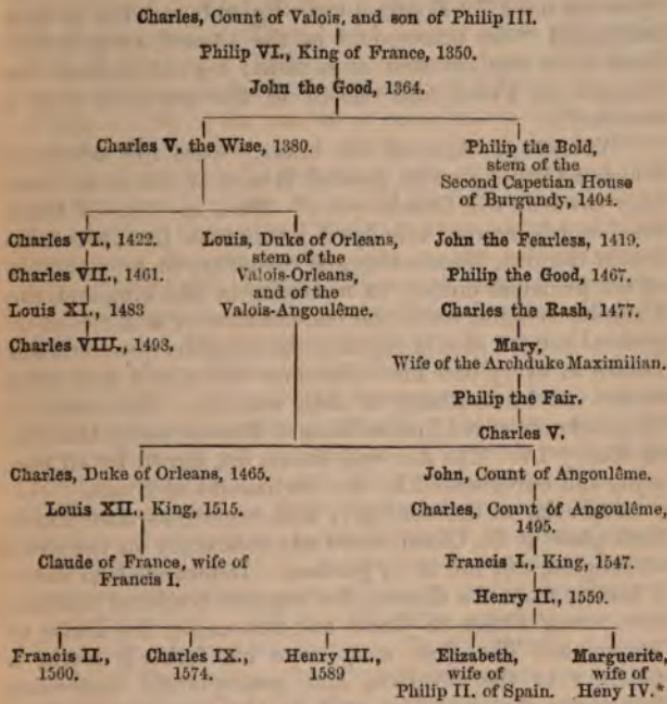
The assault was to have been given on the 2nd August. On the morning previous, a young monk, Jacques Clement, obtained entrance to the king's chamber whilst he

was dressing, under pretence of handing him a letter, and of communicating in secret something of importance. The guards withdrew, and as Henry approached him, the assassin drew a knife from his sleeve and plunged it into the king's bowels. "The wicked monk has killed me!" exclaimed Henry, as he wrenched the knife from the wound, and struck the assassin with it in the face. The guards rushed in at the noise, and at once despatched the monk on the spot. It was at first thought that the wound would not prove mortal, but soon a violent fever set in and announced that Henry had not long to live. He sent for the King of Navarre, embraced him, declared him his successor, and conjured him to renounce the reformed religion. "My brother," said the king, "you see how your enemies and mine treat me; be certain that you will never be king unless you become a Catholic." Then turning towards those who surrounded him: "I pray you," said he to them, "as my friends, and command you, as your king, to recognise after my death my brother who stands there; for my satisfaction and your own duty, I conjure you to swear allegiance to him in my presence." All present swore. He expired during the night, at the age of thirty-eight, and had reigned fifteen years. He left no children by his queen, Louisa of Vaudemont, and in him the race of Valois became extinct.

Such was the tragic and miserable end of the royal dynasty of Valois, which had given thirteen sovereigns to France, and had filled the throne during a period of two hundred and sixty-one years.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CAPETIAN HOUSE
OF VALOIS.

(*The date which follows each name is that of the king's death.*)



* Beatrix of Bourbon married, in 1272, Robert, count of Clermont, sixth son of St. Louis. Their descendants formed the ducal branch of Bourbon, which became extinct in 1503, and the cadet branches of *la Marche*, extinct in 1458, of *Montpensier* in 1527; of *Vendome* (which continued as far as Henry IV.), divided itself into two branches—that of *Bourbon-Vendome*, which acquired the kingdom of Navarre by the marriage of Antony, and that of the princes of *la Roche-sur-Yon*, dukes of Montpensier, extinct in 1608; finally, that of *Bourbon-Condé*, formed by a brother of Antony of Vendome, Louis I., uncle of Henry IV., and head of the Calvinist party. His great-grandson was the Great Condé.

Henry IV. (1589-1610).—The assassination of the last of the Valois caused grief and anxiety in the camp of St. Cloud, joy and confidence in Paris. The duchesses of Montpensier and Nemours drove through the streets exclaiming: "Good news! my friends, good news! the tyrant is dead!" Bonfires were lighted, and the pulpits celebrated "the martyrdom of the blessed Jacques Clement;" he was invoked as a saint; his old mother was brought to Paris, and shown to the populous "as a wonder."

"You are the king of the brave," were the words in which a Catholic noble greeted Henry of Navarre, "and only cowards will forsake you!" But, in spite of those loyal words, many Catholics did withdraw from him. To retain the rest, Henry engaged solemnly, in an assembly of the principal nobles, to maintain in his kingdom the Catholic religion until the convocation of a national or general council should regulate the religious question, and secure to every one his rights and offices, and guarantee to the Calvinists liberty of their worship. The assembly then acknowledged him as King of France, under the title of Henry IV. The Act was drawn up, signed by all present, and enregistered by the Parliament of Tours.

At Paris, on the contrary, with regard to that which took place at St. Cloud, there was unanimity on the score of religion, but not as to persons. Determined to drive a heretic from the throne, the leaguers hesitated between the young Duke of Guise and his uncle, the Duke of Mayenne. The first was, since his father's death, a prisoner to the royalists, and consequently somewhat forgotten; the second, a skilful politician, was wanting in all that is necessary to a popular leader—boldness, indefatigable activity, and prompt decision. All-powerful on the day after the death of Henry III., Mayenne might have grasped fortune successfully; but he did not dare; and, on the 5th August, he proclaimed king, under the title of Charles X., the Cardinal of Bourbon, then a prisoner to the Béarnais, and appointed himself lieutenant-general. That nomination determined nothing, and, in

recognising the right of the Bourbon family, Mayenne showed that the legitimate king was Henry IV. However, the declaration of the 4th August did not satisfy everybody in the royal army. D'Epernon and several Catholic lords withdrew with a large portion of the troops, and Henry, finding his diminished forces too weak to continue the siege of Paris, broke up his camp and retired into Normandy. Mayenne followed him with 33,000 men, and was defeated by Henry at Arques, and afterwards at Ivry. On the latter occasion, as the battle was about to begin, one of his officers pointed out to Henry a way of securing his retreat in case of a reverse :—“No other retreat,” replied he, “than the field of battle.” And he added : “Comrades ! close up your ranks, and, if you love your banners, this white plume which you see in my helmet will show you the way to honour and glory!” In two hours the whole army of the League was put to flight. The victory won, the Béarnais remembered that he was king : “Quarter for the French,” he exclaimed ; “but strike home at the foreigners!” Five cannons, eighty infantry flags, and twenty cavalry standards were the trophies of the conquerors. The way to Paris was open to them ; and thither Henry led them.

In the capital no preparations of any kind had been made, and as soon as it was invested by Henry's army, and the supplies cut off, it was found that there was not sufficient provisions or munitions to enable the defenders to stand a siege. But the Parisians supplied everything by their religious exaltation. Thirty thousand citizens enrolled themselves, the church bells were melted, and every family contributed its copper culinary vessels wherewith to make cannon. Mayenne's half-brother, the young Duke of Nemours, directed the defence with zeal and activity, and 1300 monks, priests, and friars took their turn in defending the ramparts. Henry IV. did not flatter himself with the hope of carrying by assault a city thus defended; but he reckoned upon famine, and intercepted all the convoys, trusting by that means to subdue the Parisians. But they endured famine as well

as they supported war. The death of the old Cardinal of Bourbon, the puppet king, simplified the question (May 1590), but rendered the hatred of the leaguers more furious. On the 24th July, the king ordered an assault; at the end of two hours the faubourgs were carried.

The distress was then at its height; after having diminished daily the ration of bread distributed amongst the people, the municipality gave no more; each had to provide for himself. The horses, asses, and mules still left were slaughtered. All that had life, even unclean animals, were hunted after and devoured. The Duchess of Montpensier refused to give up a little favourite dog, saying that "it was the last resource for her own life." Some pounded the bones of the dead wherewith to make a sort of paste, and died from swallowing such a hideous aliment; and, horrible to relate, armed men began to chase little children, and one mother ate her own offspring!

In spite of all this suffering, however, Henry could have easily taken the city by assault, could he have prevailed with himself to resort to extremities. "I am," said he, "the true father of my people. I would much rather never have Paris, than obtain it by the death and ruin of so many persons." At length, after four month's siege, shouts were heard in the streets of "Bread or Peace!" Two days more, says a contemporary, and the people of Paris would have been obliged to open the gates to Henry IV., and even entreat him to enter therein, when the Duke of Parma, the best general of Philip II., arrived at the head of a considerable Spanish army, and compelled Henry to raise the siege.

The Duke of Parma, the most skilful tactitian of his age, skirmished with the royal troops, but Henry in vain endeavoured to bring him to an engagement. The king, therefore, was obliged to retreat and disband his forces. In the following year he laid siege to Rouen. Parma again came to the assistance of the League, and obliged him to raise the siege. The duke entered the town, but received a wound therein which his infirm health rendered mortal shortly afterwards. Twice had that great soldier

torn the victory from the king's hands, and retarded the end of the crisis. Happily the League was itself working for Henry IV.

At length it became evident to all that the war would bring about no solution. France might ruin herself therein; but one party would not destroy the other. Philip II., to the arguments derived from religion, added one of another sort. He had said that it would be easier to buy France than to conquer it, and to that end spared no money. If the historians of Spain have reckoned correctly, his views with regard to France cost him thirty millions of ducats. The Béarnais himself had only expended heroism; as much, it is true, as would have been necessary, under other circumstances, to win a kingdom. But the worship that he professed formed an invincible obstacle. The chief of the Protestants could not be king of the Catholics. For a long while Henry had felt this; and as he had never been bound by very strong links to Calvinism, he thought of breaking them, to terminate at length an atrocious, and without that, a perpetual war. But an event now occurred which compelled him to decide at once. In 1593, the States-general were assembled, and proceeded so far as to offer the crown to the Spanish Infanta, on the condition that she should marry a French Catholic prince. The young Duke of Guise was fixed on as her future husband.

Although it was not without a pang that the son of Jane d'Albret, and the pupil of Coligny could resolve to break with the Huguenots "who had carried him on their shoulders across the Loire," he followed the wisest advice, and on the 23rd July, after a debate of some hours with the Catholic doctors assembled at Mantes, he declared himself convinced, and made a public abjuration of Protestantism. The Duke of Mayenne, and some of the stanchest adherents of the League, contended that, until Henry had received absolution, he could not be considered as their legitimate sovereign. But the greater number of the nobles regarded this conversion as the pledge of a patriotic reconciliation, and flocked to tender

him their submission. As Rheims was in the hands of the League, Henry was therefore crowned at Chartres (Feb. 27, 1594). He was received in Paris with ringing of bells and shouts of "*Vive la paix! Vive le roi!*" In the year following, the pope having formally pronounced the absolution, Mayenne was left without a plea for withholding the submission due to his sovereign. Henry concluded a treaty with him early in 1596, and received and treated him with so much nobleness and generosity that the duke was ever after one of his most faithful servants. The rest of the League followed the example of their leader, and thus France at last saw the end of those troubles with which she had been distracted for a period of thirty-seven years. Henry IV. again found and resumed, without fresh efforts, the absolute authority of Francis I.

But the time for reforms had not yet come, since that of trials was not yet passed. In 1596, the Spaniards had taken Calais, and that blow was felt sorrowfully at the heart of France; the year following they entered Amiens, the inhabitants having refused to receive a royal garrison. Henry was engaged in banquets and festivities in his capital, when he learned that the Spaniards were in Amiens, some thirty leagues from Paris. "We have played King of France enough," said he, "it is now time to play King of Navarre!" and he put on his cuirass. He marched in hot haste with Biron and his fine artillery, all the nobles of the north, and more than 20,000 men. Though an army advanced from the Low Countries to interrupt the siege, it retreated without doing anything, and Amiens was retaken. The rapidity of that operation raised still higher the king's name in the mind of the foreigner, and proved the strength of France.

Since Henry's conversion the Calvinists had sulked. Several of the Huguenot nobility had followed the king's example, but the mass resisted, and the ministers who had placed themselves at the head of the party, in the place of the men of war, showed themselves less tractable. Henry was therefore urged to terminate the religious

troubles by the pacification in favour of the Huguenots, called the *Edict of Nantes*. By this edict the exercise of their religion was, with some slight restrictions, permitted, and it rendered them admissible to all places of honour and dignity in the state. These concessions did not, however, satisfy the Huguenots, who distrusted the king ever after his change of religion; but the French in general were delighted with their king, and began to feel the happiness of a well-organised government; thanks to the wise administration of his able minister Sully. Nineteen days after granting the edict, the king's deputies signed, at Vervins, a peace with Spain (May 2, 1598). Philip II., conquered by England, by the united provinces of Holland, and by him whom he called the Prince of Béarn, saw, after so many efforts, his ambitious projects fall to the ground, and his monarchy, like himself exhausted, expiring. The gloomy despotism of Philip II. had precipitated Spain into a decadence whence two centuries have not been able to rescue her. By this treaty, the Spaniards agreed to give up Calais, and, with slight exception, all their other conquests in France. In the following September, Philip II. died, and was succeeded by his only son, Philip III.

ELEVENTH PERIOD.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERNAL ORDER BY ROYALTY AND SECOND STRUGGLE OF FRANCE AGAINST THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA (1598-1610).

Reorganization of France by Henry IV.—In 1598, Henry IV. had driven out the foreigner, brought Catholics and Protestants together, and at length established peace within the realm and on the frontiers. It was now necessary to cure France of the many wounds she had received. A contemporary estimated that from the year 1580, 800,000 persons had already perished by war and massacres, that 9 cities had been razed to the ground, 250 villages burned, and 128,000 houses destroyed. And since that epoch which preceded the League, how much other ruin was effected! Commerce interrupted, workshops emptied, agriculture neglected, brigandage everywhere—such was the condition from which Henry IV. had to rescue France. Henry had already found the man who was destined to aid him in that great work, a more difficult one than that of the field of battle; a man of firm good sense, of intrepid heart yet prudent mind, the Protestant Maximilian de Bethune, afterwards created Duke of Sully. Pushing his own fortune by every honest means, he had brought his own estates into order, and afterwards did the same for the public finances. But devoted to his prince and the state, the good economist cut down his own woods at Rosny to hand the proceeds of them to Henry, at the end of his resources; and the zealous Protestant counselled the king to end the war by making himself a Catholic. Sully was not quite a Colbert any more than he was a Bayard; he had, however, some

of the qualities of both. After the peace of Vervins he was appointed superintendent of finance (1599), and then grand-master of the artillery (1600).

Henry, in 1599, had obtained a divorce from Margaret of Valois, and the same year married Mary de' Medici, niece to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. This Florentine princess was a woman of weak mind and violent temper, and being entirely governed by her Italian favourites, her perpetual quarrels with the king made the court a continued scene of dissension.

"The Wolf's-cub of Savoy," as Cardinal d'Ossat called the duke, had profited by the troubles of France in 1588, to seize upon the marquisate of Saluces. Henry reclaimed it, and the duke refusing to restore it, war broke out in 1600; it was, however, terminated early in the following year by a treaty greatly to the honour and advantage of Henry. During several years which followed, and which have been called the golden age of France, few public events of any moment occurred. Throughout the three years of unwonted peace which preceded his murder, the active mind of Henry was earnestly engaged in a grand project for the humiliation of the house of Austria in both its branches, and a rearrangement of the group of European states. With this end in view, he strove to put his army into the most efficient condition, and in amassing a very considerable treasure. In the spring of 1610, he prepared to set his forces in motion, on pretext of some disputes with the Emperor Rodolph.

Before Henry left Paris to join the army, the queen was appointed regent; and at the suggestion of her Italian favourite Concini, insisted on being crowned. The ceremony of Mary de' Medici's coronation, which was consented to with great unwillingness by the king, as it compelled him to alter the arrangements for his departure, took place on the 13th May. Henry seems to have been impressed with a gloomy presentiment of some impending catastrophe, and repeatedly expressed his conviction that his days would be cut short before the time appointed for quitting the capital.

On the following day (14th), the king went in his

coach, attended by six noblemen to visit Sully, who was ill in bed. On the way the carriage was stopped in a narrow street by two carts. A fanatical Jesuit, named Ravaillac, had followed it on foot from the Louvre, and who, taking advantage of the obstruction, leaped upon a post and plunged a knife into the breast of the king, who was reading a letter. "I am wounded!" he exclaimed, throwing up his arm. That movement uncovered his left side, and the assassin struck a second blow which pierced the heart. Henry expired instantly without uttering another word. Ravaillac did not attempt to escape, and it was with great difficulty the people were kept from tearing him in pieces. He was brought to trial, condemned, and sentenced to a death of frightful torture. The judges did not find, or dared not find, that he had any accomplices. Mary de' Medici evinced neither grief nor surprise, and shared with the Jesuits the suspicion of having been implicated in the deed. A tradition states that, at the moment the blow was struck, Concini opened the door of the queen's cabinet, and, without crossing the threshold, uttered the words, "He is murdered!" "We should not," says Michelet, "have recalled this tradition, had not the queen herself repeated the expression in remorseful accents when Concini was in his turn assassinated."

Louis XIII. (1610-1643)—**Regency of Mary de' Medici.**—Sully was expecting Henry IV. at the arsenal, when a gentleman of his suite ran to him exclaiming, "The king is dangerously wounded!" "*Mon Dieu!*" cried Sully, "have compassion for him, for us, and for the state. Should he die, France will fall into strange hands." He shut himself up immediately in the Bastille, and wrote to his relative, the Duke of Rohun, to return in all haste from Champagne, with the 6000 Swiss under his command.

There is great significance in those words of Sully; the mystery of Henry's murder has never been unravelled. It will probably remain one of the unsolved problems of modern history. The young king who succeeded his father was not yet nine years old. Custom gave the

regency to the king's mother, but Mary de' Medici being a foreigner, and as bigoted to Rome as was Catherine de' Medici, and feeling herself to be little loved, thought it necessary to obtain the legal sanction of the Parliament. The members, threatened by the Duke d'Epernon, who went to the sitting at the head of a band of soldiers, dared not withhold their sanction. At first, nothing appeared changed in the political system of France. Mary de' Medici retained the ministers of the last reign. She even welcomed Sully with deference when he visited the Louvre to salute his young king: "My son," said she, "this is the Duke de^{es}Sully; you ought to love him well, for he was one of the best and most useful servants of your father, and beg of him to serve you in like manner." And Sully held the boy long in his arms, and wept over the son of his late master and friend. The projects of Henry IV. seemed to be continued with his minister: a royal declaration confirmed the edict of Nantes; and an army of 10,000 men, commanded by Marshal de la Châtre, was placed at the disposition of the Protestant princes who were then the allies of France.

But it happened, as it almost always does when queens are regnant, that things became subordinated to persons, which is the opposite of true policy. Very shortly nothing but weakness was perceived in the government, the irresolution and caprices of a woman. With its king a minor, an incapable regent, a court divided, and turbulent princes, the exterior action of France was about to be neutralised for a long time. Peace becoming a necessity, one of the first objects of the regent was to unite France as closely as possible with Spain. She therefore resumed a project which Henry IV. had rejected; she opened negotiations for the double marriage of her son with an Infanta, and of the prince of Spain with her daughter, and she promised to no longer trouble the Austrian princes in the affairs of Germany. It was difficult for Sully to adopt this new policy, so the regent dismissed him, allowing only the grand-mastership of the artillery to remain in his hands (Jan. 1611). The good minister lived for thirty

years longer, only dying at the end of 1641, at his château of Villebon.

The queen had for a long time given her confidence to the Florentine, Concini, who governed her through his wife, Leonora Galigai. This woman, the daughter of a joiner, was foster-sister of the regent. Brought up with Mary de' Medici, she had acquired an extraordinary influence over her mind, and had accompanied her to the Court of France. "Poor butterfly," said Richelieu, "who knew not that the fire that would consume her was inseparably united to the brilliancy of that fierce light which she followed, enchanted with ease and contentment."

The authority of the regent found itself disarmed, when a foreigner, odious already on that score, and moreover incapable, had assumed, as adviser, the place of the able man who for twenty years had been associated in the good and evil fortune of the Bourbons. The Prince of Condé, the Count of Soissons, his uncle, the Duke of Bouillon, the Duke of Guise, and a crowd of others had all rushed to claim pensions, which quickly exhausted the savings amassed by Henry IV. at the Bastille. How could the queen refuse their exigence, when her favourite gave the foremost example of the most scandalous greediness? Concini drained the treasury with both hands; he purchased, in a few months, for 330,000 livres, the Marquisate of Ancre (near Amiens), for 200,000 the appointment of first gentleman of the chamber; and, moreover, for large sums, he procured the lieutenant-generalships of Peronne, Amiens, Dieppe, Pont-de-l'Arche, Quillebœuf, etc., and he crowned this insolent fortune by taking the title of Marshal of France, without ever having seen a field of battle. Leonora, on her part, worked for their joint prosperity by selling graces and absolutions. The court of assistants having prosecuted certain prevaricating officers of finance, she bound herself by public contract to have them acquitted, for 300,000 livres.

The pretensions of the nobles increased with the weakness of the government. "The presents of the queen,"

says Richelieu, "took off the edge of the first ravenous hunger of their avarice and ambition; but it was not for all that extinct; the savings in the coffers of the Bastille being exhausted, they next aspired to things so great that the royal authority could not permit of their receiving the increase of power which they demanded." What they desired, in fact, were governments for themselves and families, strongholds, and the dismemberment of France. Like d'Epernon at Metz, many other nobles, on the news of Henry's assassination, had also thrown themselves into fortified places within their reach, some refusing to give them up, and defying the royal authority. "The days of kings have passed away," they said, "and those of the nobles have come." The first refusal of the regent brought about a civil war. Condé (Henry II.) took up arms and published a manifesto in which he accused the Court of having abased the nobility, dilapidated the finances, and wronged the lower orders: reproaches somewhat singular in the mouth of a prince who, with his friends, had received the greater part of the poor people's money. Brought up in the Catholic religion, but a member of a Protestant family, Condé hoped to rally to his cause the one and the other party.

The discontented nobles had demanded the convocation of the States-general to give colour to their revolt. When they had exhausted the money extorted by their first rising up in arms, they began a second, under pretext that justice was not done to the requirements of the states. This time Condé enlisted the Protestants. The Duke of Rohan stirred up the people of the Cevennes, and all the party took up arms in support of a factious nobility. The Court was then occupied with preparations for a journey to Bordeaux, where the king was to receive his affianced bride, the Infanta Anne of Austria, and to conduct thither his sister, who was at the same time to espouse the Prince of Spain. The departure could not be delayed, for the Spaniards were already on the march (Oct. 1615). An army was needed to escort the young king and his sister to the frontier, and bring back the

Infanta to Paris. During the whole of this journey, which but little resembled that of a sovereign, the Court had been pursued and often harrassed by the soldiers of Condé and de Rohan. These marriages took place by proxy, the one at Burgos, in Spain, and the other at Bordeaux, on the same day, Oct. 18, 1615, and the two princesses were exchanged in the Isle of Pheasants, in the river Bidassoa, in the November following. The Infanta was then conducted to Bordeaux, and the king meeting her on the way, they made together a solemn entry into that city.

The Court purchased a new peace at Loudun (May 1616), when Louis XIII. acknowledged Condé and his friends as good and loyal subjects, declaring that they had done "nothing which was otherwise than very agreeable to him," and he paid the troops which had been raised against him. Condé alone received 1,500,000 livres. Each revolt brought him more money. This one had cost the state more than 20 millions.

The prince returned to Paris, and all the Court so flocked around him that he appeared, for an instant, to be the real king of France. The queen, who still governed in her son's name, driven to her wit's end by a fresh insurrection headed by the Duke of Longueville, showed, at length, more firmness. She reconstructed the ministry; and the Bishop of Luçon (Richelieu), whom the States of 1614 had brought into notice, had become grand almoner of her household, then member of the council, in which he made himself powerfully heard. Concini found that the young prelate "knew more than all the grey-beards." He had him appointed to one of the four offices of the household and crown of France, "with the charge of foreign affairs." Immediately thereupon rigorous measures were adopted. On the 1st Sept. 1616, the Prince of Condé was arrested even in the hall of the Louvre, and thrown into the Bastille. In a sort of manifesto, Richelieu showed that Condé had extorted three and a half millions in six years, Mayenne 2 millions, Nevers 1,600,000 livres, Longueville 1,200,000, Vendôme and Bouillon nearly a million each, and each "seeking to

establish a particular tyranny in each province." The princes and their adherents were declared guilty of high treason, and their dignities forfeited; and three armies were sent into Picardy, Champagne, and Berry, to stifle the revolt. The royal cause would have triumphed on this occasion, if the king himself had not joined the malcontents in order to overthrow the ministers and escape from tutelage.



PLACE OF THE BASTILLE.

Concini had only a vulgar ambition. He loved wealth, but power terrified him, because he did not feel himself strong enough to support it. Without devotion or gratitude to the queen, he would have quitted France if his wife had consented to "that baseness and ingratitude." He reckoned that with his eight millions he could purchase the duchy of Ferrara from the pope, and that

having left Florence penniless, he could re-enter it a prince, without any longer having to fear the clamours of an entire people against the foreigner. He knew himself to be hated, threatened; the populace had already once pillaged his mansion at Paris; but it was from a quarter whence he suspected nothing that the peril came. Louis XIII. was then sixteen years old. That prince, of morose and gloomy temperament, lived in isolation, estranged from state affairs by his mother and Concini, surrounded only by a few pages to whom he attached himself, because he had need of some one's affection. He had formed a friendship for a provincial cadet, who taught him to train merlins and magpies, Albert Luynes, the son of an officer of fortune. The king's favourite conceived the hope of replacing the queen's favourite. A plot was concerted between Louis XIII. and his falconer. The captain of the guards, Vitry, received an order to arrest Concini and kill him if he resisted. On the 24th April, the sieur Vitry, accompanied by some twenty gentlemen, who followed him with apparent negligence, accosted the Marshal d'Ancre as the latter entered the Louvre and was still upon the drawbridge. He told him that he took him prisoner on the part of the king. And, at the same moment, the other having only time to exclaim: *Moi prisonnier!* they fired three pistol-shots at him, from which he fell stark dead. One of his followers was about to draw his sword, but being told that it was the king's order, he desisted. At the same instant the king appeared at a window, and all the Louvre resounded with the cry of "Long live the king."

Leonora Galigai met with a more terrible fate. She was accused of malversations, of plotting against the state, and especially of sorcery. Being asked, during her trial, by what sorcery she had acquired her great ascendancy over the mind of the queen: "I have used none," she replied, "except that ascendancy which strong minds have over the weak." She was beheaded and her body burnt. Mary de' Medici was exiled to Blois, and Richelieu ordered to repair to his diocese (1617).

The great nobles had rejoiced at Concini's fall, by which they hoped to profit. But when they saw De Luynes appropriate to himself the spoils of the marshal, become, in less than fifteen months, duke, peer, and governor of Picardy, and make one of his brothers Duke of Chaulnes, and a second Duke of Piney-Luxembourg, they again revolted, and, changing their flag, they rose in arms in favour of the queen-mother, recently their enemy. The duke d'Epernon, at the head of 300 gentlemen, released her from imprisonment at Blois, and with her endeavoured to raise the south. De Luynes was not more skilful to resist them than Marshal d'Ancre, and the peace of Angoulême, brought about by Richelieu, accorded to Mary de' Medici the government of Anjou and three strongholds (1619). Angers soon became a focus of fresh intrigues, and the refuge of all the malcontents. The queen-mother was eager to seize again upon power. But the king had formed a liking for war, and when his armies took the field, he felt, amongst the soldiers, somewhat of the warlike ardour of his father. He marched upon Angers, decided upon pursuing his mother into Poitou, even as far as Guyenne, if she took refuge there. He did not go so far; the partisans of the queen-mother were defeated in a sanguinary skirmish near the Bridges of Cé; and her road to the south being cut off, she was glad to procure, through Richelieu, a confirmation of the first treaty (1620).

De Luynes exercised, for a time, as complete a dominion over the young king as the Concinis had over the queen. He was a man of a haughty and grasping temper, but wholly unequal to restrain the ambition of the princes of the blood and other nobles, who committed all sorts of disorders with impunity, and even sometimes waged war against the crown. De Luynes died of a fever caught during the siege of a small town on the Garonne, held by the Protestant Duke de Rohan, in Dec. 1621. Louis XIII. continued the war alone; but the duke profited by a moment of lassitude, during the siege of Montpellier, to obtain a peace which renewed the edict of Nantes, but

interdicted political assemblies, and left to the reformers only the strongholds of Montauban and La Rochelle.

De Luynes left the kingdom in a state of feebleness and disorder which recalls the worst days of French history: royal authority humiliated by continual revolts, the nobility dictating laws to the sovereign and mastering provinces by the governments which they controlled; the Calvinists ready to separate themselves from the rest of the nation; the realm without alliances and without consideration; finally, the house of Austria inaugurating the Thirty Years' War by a succession of victories, and appearing to prelude, by the ruin of Protestant Germany, the subjection of Europe. It was time for Richelieu to appear on the stage of affairs.

Mary de' Medici had been reconciled with her son after the death of De Luynes; and she had obtained the cardinal's hat for her habitual adviser, the Bishop of Luçon (Richelieu). At the beginning of 1624, she had made him a member of her privy council. At the end of a few months, Richelieu had dominated or re-organised the ministry, expelled a new favourite, subjugated Louis XIII. by the ascendancy of a superior genius, and indicated the policy which should render illustrious a reign so sorrowfully begun.

Richelieu was desirous at first of pursuing three objects at once. Scarcely had he entered the council, when he concluded, cardinal as he was, the marriage of a sister of Louis XIII., Henrietta Maria, with Charles, Prince of Wales; he signed a new alliance with the Dutch, and secretly furnished money to Mansfeld, who then alone was making head in Germany against the House of Austria, and despatched 10,000 men to drive the pope's soldiers out of the Valteline, to restore it to the Grisons. All these alliances were with Protestants. Whilst the Duke of Rohan rallied those of Languedoc and the Cevennes, his brother Soubise, had armed the Rochellers. La Rochelle was then actually a republic, the centre, and as it were, the capital of Calvinism; its fleet was superior to that of France. Richelieu, surprised by this revolt,

which he was not prepared to combat (1625), was compelled to ask for ships from two Protestant states, England and Holland, and he had the address to obtain them, by promising on his side the support of France against the House of Austria. His admiral, Montmorency, had some success on the shores of Poitou; and Soubise sought refuge in England with the remains of his fleet. Richelieu then offered peace to the rebels, to prepare at his leisure the means of crushing them later on, and allowed the courtiers to denounce him to Catholic France as "the pope of the Huguenots, and the patriarch of the atheists."

However, he brought about some order in the finances; he organised the army; he constructed or bought ships, and signed a treaty with Spain which left him the free disposal of all his forces. When everything was ready, he conducted the king and the nobility to the siege of Rochelle (Aug. 1627). The enterprise, though very popular in France, seemed difficult, for Charles I. of England sent to the French Calvinists a fleet of 90 sail, commanded by the handsome, but incapable, Buckingham. But Richelieu was equal to the occasion, constituting himself at once general, engineer, and admiral. He drove the English out of the Isle of Ré, wherein they had lodged themselves, and to hinder them from revictualling La Rochelle, closed the approaches to the port by an immense mole, a mile in extent. The English tried in vain to force this gigantic outwork; two fresh fleets despatched from England were repulsed: Rochelle was isolated from the ocean. On the land side, a circumvallation of three leagues, protected by 13 forts, flanked by redoubts, and mounted with cannon, enveloped the city in a circle of fire. It held out, however, sustained by the undaunted courage of the Duchess of Rohan, who had shut herself up therein, and by the energy of its mayor, Guiton, for fifteen months, when every kind of food being exhausted it consented to surrender almost at discretion. Of 15,000 persons who were in the city when the siege began, only 4000 survived the fatal effects of famine, fatigue, and the sword. For upwards of a year, La Rochelle had held in

check the fortunes of Richelieu, at a cost of 40 millions, which was not too much, since at that price he had purchased the political unity of France.

La Rochelle was treated as a conquered city, its fortifications destroyed, and its privileges abolished; but Richelieu, satisfied with having broken the power of the Huguenots, and having wrested from them their strongest asylum, still permitted them the free exercise of their religion. The peace of Alais, or *Edict of Grace* (June 1629), terminated the last religious war. The Calvinists ceased to be a political party, and to form a state within the state. One of the consequences of the war was the acquisition of Acadia and Cape Breton, which the English, allies of the French Protestants, ceded to France by the treaty of St. Germain (1632).

Richelieu was desirous of seeing royalty within the realm a supreme magistracy of public order, having, as he said on his deathbed, neither affection nor hatred for anyone, but justice for all. The struggle against the nobility, commenced from the very first days of his ministry, continued until his death. Intrigues, conspiracies, and revolts unceasingly imperilled his life, his authority, those of the king, and the repose of France. He repressed them with relentless severity. But if the cardinal had the right of punishing the guilty, it is to be regretted that he used it with so much rigour, especially as he sometimes, like Louis XI., gave to justice the appearance of vengeance, and made the scaffold a means of government.

The arduous task Richelieu now set himself, the execution of which lasted for the rest of his life, was to repress, in Germany, Spain, and Italy, the power of France's great rival, the House of Austria. Direct hostilities began in 1635, but it is impossible to give a distinct summary of the complicated transactions of this war with Spain. It must suffice to say that Richelieu, at his death (1st Dec. 1642), left France victorious on all sides; the House of Austria humbled, the kingdom aggrandised by four provinces: Lorraine, Alsace, Artois, and Roussillon; Catalonia and Portugal in arms against Spain, the Swedes and

French almost at the gates of Vienna. He had therefore kept the promise he made to Louis XIII. in entering upon his ministry: he had raised, abroad, the king's name to the point at which he thought it ought to stand amongst foreign nations; he had, at home, made all and everything bend to his iron will. But here from one peril the nation had fallen into another; from aristocratic licence into the arbitrariness of royal despotism, which sometimes set itself above all justice, and disposed at will of the fortunes, liberties, and lives of the citizens. Not only were there seen confiscations and arbitrary imprisonments, but capital sentences pronounced by letters patent addressed to the Parliament. In his last moments, when the curate of St. Eustache brought the viaticum to Richelieu, the priest asked: "Do you forgive your enemies?" "I never had any but those of the state," was the answer of the dying cardinal.

Louis XIII. changed nothing in the policy of his minister, and summoned to the council-board him who could continue it, Jules Mazarin, the pupil and depositary of the great statesman's ideas. Louis survived Richelieu only six months (14th May 1643), as though both inseparable in life, so also were they to be in history.

Louis XIV. (1643-1715)—Regency of Anne of Austria.—The eldest son of Louis XIII. was a boy under five years of age. His father, who mistrusted the queen, mixed up in all the intrigues of the aristocracy, under Richelieu, had bequeathed her the regency, but controlled by a council which was to decide all matters by a majority of votes. Four days, however, after the king's death, the queen procured a formal decree of the Parliament which gave her the choice of the council, thereby annulling the king's will, and investing her with all authority. To the astonishment of the Court, the first adviser whom she chose was the friend and successor of Richelieu, the Cardinal Mazarin.

Mazarin, born in 1602, belonged to a Sicilian family settled in Rome. Sent as nuncio to France in 1634, his political address attracted the favourable notice of Riche-

lieu, who attached him to his fortunes, and obtained for him the Roman purple. The queen confided herself to this depositary of the great cardinal's designs, to this foreigner, who could have no other interest in France save that of the king, and she allowed him to exercise over her mind, even over her heart, an absolute empire. He pursued abroad the policy of his predecessor, and the Spanish war was continued. The death of Richelieu had emboldened the Spaniards; they had resumed the offensive and besieged Rocroy, hoping after its fall to reach Paris without obstacle, as they had before them only an army inferior in numbers, and a general of one-and-twenty, Louis of Bourbon, then Duke of Enghien, but later known as "the Great Condé."

With the news of the late king's death, the young general had received orders not to risk a battle against the superior strength of the Spaniards; but he ventured to disobey these orders, and on the 19th of May fought the battle of Rocroy and gained a decisive victory. The Duke d'Enghien followed up his success with that impetuosity and happy audacity which were the characteristics of that modern Alexander. Each year was marked by a victory. After driving the Spaniards out of France, and capturing Thionville, he turned his arms against Austria and its German allies. The war with the emperor was terminated, 24th October 1648, by the treaty of Westphalia, which formed the basis of all the diplomatic conventions from the middle of the seventeenth century down to the French Revolution, putting an end to the supremacy of the house of Austria, and saving the independence of the small states. If the Bourbons had not inherited the ambition of the Hapsburgs, and raised against them the same coalitions, the peace of Westphalia would have secured the greatness of France and the political liberty of Europe.

Whilst Mazarin was continuing gloriously the policy of Richelieu, his power was shaken in France by factions. The last reign had bequeathed immense financial embarrassments to the cardinal, which had been much increased

by the long war, and had driven that minister to attempt to procure money by many unjust and impolitic methods. The Parliament refused to register the edicts issued for raising supplies. In consequence of this refusal, one of its members was arrested. On this the populace of Paris flew to arms, shut up the shops, and barricaded the streets. This "Day of the 200 Barricades" was the 26th of Aug. 1648. The civil war called *the Fronde* arose out of this financial crisis.

On the very outbreak of these disturbances, the nobles hastened to throw themselves into them. The great nobles, in fact, finding once more, as at the death of Henry II. and of Henry IV., a child king and a foreign queen, essayed a last struggle against royalty. But Richelieu had so thoroughly broken up that indisciplinable nobility, that it had need, in order to be in a condition to agitate the people, to support itself by the Parliament, that is to say, by the great instrument of which the kings had availed themselves to batter in the breach of feudality. The Parliament of Paris assumed to represent the nation in the interval of the States-general; and as all law, before being rendered executive, was required to be inscribed on its registers, it had drawn from that circumstance the right of addressing remonstrances. Under the strong kings it was dumb; under the feeble kings the remonstrances were frequent; and if they bore upon measures of finance, they might give to Parliament a popularity which could force for an instant royalty to reckon with it. This is what happened in 1648. To fill up the void in the public coffers, new imposts were required which the Parliament refused to register. Mazarin had three of the most obstinate members arrested and imprisoned, but an insurrection of the citizens compelled the Court to release them, and a decree of Parliament ordered Mazarin to quit the kingdom within eight days. A grandson of Henry IV., the Duke of Beaufort, surnamed *the King of the Markets*, on account of his popular eloquence; the dukes of Longueville, d'Elbeuf, de Bouillon, de Chevreuse, and especially the *coadjuteur*

of Paris, Paul de Gondy, afterwards Cardinal de Retz, a man of an ambitious and giddy character, became the chiefs of this faction.

This ridiculous parody of the League, which was aptly called after the name of a childish game, the word *fronde* meaning a *sling*, had no other object than that of replacing a faithful minister of the crown by titled intriguers, who no longer proposed to themselves the dismemberment of the royal authority, but the pillage of the treasury. It is not with such principles that revolutions are made, therefore the Fronde remained merely a revolt. Turenne, and afterwards the great Condé, placed for a short time their military genius at its service. But Turenne soon quitted it; and Condé compromised his glory by entering it out of spite to Mazarin, and especially in treating with Spain. Philip IV., too happy to place at the head of his armies him who had so many times defeated them, named him generalissimo. But Condé seemed to have lost his good fortune in quitting France. Turenne also, for a moment allied with the Spaniards, had been beaten with them at Rethel (1650). The two illustrious rivals found themselves in presence of each other at Bléneau, where Turenne saved the royal army, and also at the combat at the Porte-St.-Antoine (1652), in which Condé would have been crushed had Paris not opened its gates. But he was soon compelled to quit it, and Turenne defied him still with the Spaniards, his allies, before Arras (1654), and afterwards near Dunkirk (1658).

The Fronde fell of itself by the force of ridicule. The parliamentarians returned to their functions, the citizens to their business. Mazarin who had not ceased from directing everything from the depth of his exile through his ascendancy over the queen-mother, returned in triumph. The Duke of Orleans, who in this last contest had taken part with the Prince of Condé, was banished to Blois, where he passed the rest of his life. Cardinal de Retz was arrested in the Louvre, and conveyed from prison to prison; while the Prince of Condé himself, pressed by Turenne, and feebly supported by the Spaniards, was

reduced to wage on the frontiers of Champagne a petty and unsuccessful war.

For some time, since there was no longer any question of the Fronde, when the treaty of the Pyrenees (7th Nov. 1659) reopened France to the Prince of Condé, the country was no longer distracted by faction. The arrogance of the unruly nobles was again reduced within those limits which the policy of Richelieu had dictated. By the treaty with Spain, it was agreed that the King of France should marry the Infanta, the only daughter of Philip IV. by his first marriage with Elizabeth, sister of Louis XIII., and accordingly the ceremony took place on the 9th June 1660 at St. Jean de Luz, on the Spanish frontier. The Duke of Orleans, the king's uncle, died at Blois, 2nd February 1660. As he died without sons, the dukedom was given to Philip, the king's younger brother, who married Henrietta, sister of Charles II. of England.

Cardinal Mazarin died at Vincennes, 9th March 1661, aged fifty-nine. From that day Louis XIV., though not yet twenty-three years old, took the administration of affairs into his own hands, and during thirty years he worked regularly eight hours a day. No one would have thought that a young prince, devoted hitherto to the amusements of his age, could have dared to govern by himself. Mazarin alone had divined it. He said on one occasion to Marshals Villeroi and De Grammont—"You do not know him; he will put himself in the way a little later: there is stuff enough in him wherewith to make four kings and one honest man." When the ministers came, after Mazarin's death, to ask the king to whom they should address themselves henceforth: "To me," was his answer. That resolution, however, was only the accomplishment of counsels twenty times given by Mazarin, and if there is any cause for wonder, it is not that Louis took it, but that he kept it. He later in life recommended to his son, in truly eloquent words, never to forget "that it is by labour that a king should reign." Though Mazarin had much neglected to have the king generally well instructed, he by no means overlooked his political education.

TWELFTH PERIOD.

TRIUMPH OF ABSOLUTE ROYALTY (1661-1715).

THE brilliant period of this reign extends from 1661 to 1683, from the death of Mazarin to the decease of Colbert, and it is rendered illustrious by the strong generation which arose during the years preceding. For the administration of the interior, there was Colbert; for war, Turenne, Condé, Duquesne, and Louvois; for letters, Molière, La Fontaine, Boilleau, Racine, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Madame de Sevigné; for the arts, Lebrun, Claude Lorraine, Puget, Mansart, and Perrault. Everything then smiled around him, everything was successful, durable conquests were achieved, great works accomplished, splendid monuments erected.

Mazarin, on his deathbed, had recommended Colbert to Louis XIV. This great man, of rude manners but austere morals, indefatigable in work, and who never separated the greatness of the king from the greatness of the country, reorganised as comptroller-general the finances which had fallen into the same disorder as that in which Sully had found them. Richelieu had too much to do to think about finance. Mazarin had only busied himself with it to amass a fortune of more than 200 millions. Fouquet, the predecessor of Colbert, pillaged to such an extent as to be able to expend 18 millions on his château at Vaux, and to not care about the cost of 120,000 livres for a magnificent fête given to Louis XIV. and his court. Following the example of their chief, all the inferior agents plundered. In 1661, of 84 millions of taxes which France paid, a third only entered the treasury, and the revenue of two years was consumed in advance,

Colbert compelled the tax-contractors to disgorge, who refunded more than 110 millions, and he secured to the crown in a few years, notwithstanding a beneficent diminution of taxes, a net revenue of 89 millions, in lieu of 32 which the treasury received before him.

From 1665, Colbert and Luvois, ministers of war, had given Louis XIV. a well-filled treasury, which allowed of Dunkirk being redeemed from the English; an army well equipped, and a fleet already respectable, which purged the Mediterranean of pirates, so that, when Philip IV. of Spain died in 1665, Louis was in a position to enforce the claims which he pretended to derive in right of his wife, Marie Theresa of Austria (daughter of Philip IV.), as a portion of her inheritance. This occasioned the first war of Louis' reign. Flanders and Franche-Comté were conquered in two months almost without striking a blow. But Holland, terrified at this rapid progress, interposed. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle left Flanders to France (1668).

Though Louis was greatly indignant at this intervention of the Amsterdam republicans, another motive decided him upon declaring war against them. Of the 25,000 ships of which the mercantile marine of the whole world was composed, Holland possessed 16,000 France 600. Nearly all the exportation of the kingdom was in the hands of the Dutch. Colbert, in order to strip them of that carrying trade of Europe, and let the national marine profit by it, declared Dunkirk and Marseilles free ports. He had founded in 1664 the company of the East and West Indies; in 1669 he founded that of the North, and an edict declared that maritime commerce did not detract from nobility.

Thanks to that powerful impulse, French commerce developed itself. The establishment of new tariffs in 1667 increased the jealousy of the Dutch, and they replied thereto by a considerable surtax levied upon French products. This war of tariffs was the principal cause of the hostilities which broke out in 1672. The Prince of Orange had the address to make a European war out of

it, and dragged into alliance with Holland Spain, the Elector of Brandenbourg, and the Emperor of Germany.

This coalition was overcome. Louis XIV. crossed the Rhine. The French penetrated very nearly to Amsterdam, which the Dutch saved by cutting their dykes. Condé beat the Prince of Orange (afterwards William III. of England) at Sénef (1674); Turenne, the Imperialists, who had penetrated into Alsace, in every instance where he could engage them: at Ensisheim, Mulhausen, Turckheim, etc.; Schonberg, the Spaniards in the Roussillon. Duquesne tore from the Dutch by two naval victories the empire of the sea. Crequy and Luxembourg, on land; D'Estrées and Chateau-Renaud, by sea, obtained well-merited distinction amongst the other great warriors. By the mediation of the king of England, who, in 1677, had given his niece Mary to the Prince of Orange in marriage, the peace of Niméguen was concluded in 1679. This peace gave Louis Franche-Comté and an accession of territory in Flanders.

The treaty of Niméguen marks the culmination of the reign of the Great Monarch, as the Paris magistrates entitled him at this period of it, when they erected two triumphal arches, the gates of St. Martin and St. Denis, to commemorate the close of the war (1680). All glorious as it had been, that war was, however, the origin of manifold misfortunes towards the end of the reign, for it had accustomed Europe to league itself against France, and had shown her the man whom she ought to take as the chief of her counsels, and the country in which she must place the fulcrum of her resistance. The war of Holland prepared the fortunes of William III. of England. Nevertheless, it was the most brilliant epoch of the "Great Monarch's" reign. "Victorious," says Voltaire, "from the very beginning of his reign, having besieged no place which he did not take, the terror of Europe during six continuous years, at length its arbitrator and its pacificator, the vain-glorious king imagined that everything was possible for him, and he made of the peace a period of conquest." He acquired Strasbourg, which

finished the conquest of Alsace, bombarded Algiers and Tripoli, humiliated Genoa "the superb," and by his "chambers of re-union," alarmed all the princes of Europe bordering on France. But 110 ships of the line were in the ports of Toulon, Rochefort, Brest, Havre, and Dunkirk. One hundred fortresses constructed or repaired by the illustrious Vauban covered his frontiers, which a formidable army of 140,000 men still better defended, in whose ranks Luxembourg, Catinat, Vendôme, and Villars were ready to worthily replace Turenne, killed by a spent cannon-ball in 1675, and Condé, whom serious infirmities compelled to retire far from camps and the head of armies. That great soldier died, in 1686, a victim to his devotion to the Duchess of Bourbon, his grand-daughter, when attacked with small-pox.

Charles V. said that fortune did not favour old men. The greatest king of the Bourbon race experienced the truth of that saying equally with the founder of the house of Austria. Long reigns, in fact, often present two contrary spectacles—a period of glitter and prosperity, and a time of decadence and misery, because very few princes are sufficiently masters of themselves to be able to modify their ideas proportionately as the needs of their subjects are modified.

Those conquests just named, made during a time of peace, those violences, that overweening of pride, awakened the fears of Europe. France was accused of having overthrown the Austrian domination only to put her own in its place. From 1681, the empire, the Emperor Leopold, Spain, Holland, even Sweden, concluded, by the solicitude of William of Orange, a secret alliance to maintain the peace of Niméguen. What was, at this critical juncture, the situation of France? A sense of weariness began to make itself felt in that society still so brilliant in appearance and so prosperous. The excessive expenditure of the late war, the costly maintenance of an army of 150,000 men in a time of peace, the stately constructions, such as those of Versailles, of Trianon, Marly, the Louvre, and the Tuileries; or those of utility,

as ports, strongholds, the Invalides, etc., had destroyed the equilibrium of the finances, compelled an increased taxation, and struck a first blow at agriculture and commerce. The frightful misery of 1662 reappeared. In the year following that of the peace, Colbert told the king that all the letters from the provinces spoke of the very great sufferings of the people. But Louis clung obstinately to the theory of his practice, and delighted to erect his customary habits into principles of government. To put his conscience at rest, on the subject of his monstrous prodigalities, he answered Madame de Maintenon when she asked him for money in the name of the poor: "A king gives alms in expending largely." A preciously terrible maxim, observes Say, which shows how ruin may be reduced to a principle.

When Colbert therefore preached economy he was very badly welcomed. The minister exhausted his ingenuity to find resources to fill up the gulf of the deficit. He groaned to see, after the concession made to Holland at the peace of Niméguen, the foreign concurrence crush afresh the maritime commerce and national industry. He succumbed under the anxiety. He died in 1683, at the age of 64, worn out by excessive toil, and killed, perhaps, by the unjust reproaches of the king.

Two years after Colbert's death, Louis XIV. committed the greatest error of his reign, the revocation of the *Edict of Nantes*. The evil advisers of this imprudent and culpable measure were the implacable Luvois and the new and last royal favourite, Madame de Maintenon. This revocation had been preceded by the "booted missions" of Louvois, who sent dragoons and other troops amongst the Protestants to obtain conversions by force. As the dragoons were distinguished by the cruel license and excess which they practised, this prosecution was termed the *dragonnades*. It was followed by a war, that of the *Camisards* in the Cevennes, which was directed by three marshals, one of whom was Villars. 300,000 Protestants devoted to commerce and industry, excluded from all public offices, exiled themselves from France. They

carried abroad with them, to the profit of the foreigner in England, Holland, and Germany, their handicraft and their hatred to Louis XIV. Nearly 40,000 took refuge in England, where they were received with open arms.

The answer of the Protestant powers to the revocation of the edict of Nantes was the revolution in England, which, in 1688, drove from the throne the Catholic James II., and placed upon it the Calvinist, William III. A ruler often himself creates the perils into which he falls, and the enemies who precipitate him therein. Twice Louis XIV. made the fortune of his most formidable adversary: in 1672, when by an unjust war he rendered William of Orange necessary to Holland; in 1688, when by his strict alliance with a king (James II.) odious to his subjects, he made popular in England that ungracious prince who spoke English with difficulty, and thought far more about the Continent than of British affairs. The revolution which gave him the throne of James II. went further than a change of royal persons. It substituted in England elective royalty for royalty by divine right, and founded *constitutional* or parliamentary government.

The Prince of Orange, ever the unwearied enemy of Louis XIV., had succeeded in effecting a new coalition, called the League of Augsburg. His succession under the name of William III. changed the face of affairs and substituted in the struggle against Louis, in the place of enfeebled Holland, England, whose forces had been husbanded by a long peace, united with Spain and Germany. Luxembourg was fain to conquer at Fleurus (1690), at Steinkirk (1692), at Nerwinden (1693); Catinat at Stafarde (1690), and at Marseilles (1693). Louis was constrained, by the treaty of Ryswick, to recognise William III. as king of England, and to renounce some of his acquisitions in the empire. By sea the advantage was on the side of England and Holland. On the 29th May 1692, Tourville, the French admiral, was completely defeated off Cape La Hogue, and the remnant of his fleet afterwards nearly destroyed by the enemy. All parties were at length wearied of the war and inclined sincerely

France. But sons forget very quickly the sufferings of their fathers; the generations following have not cared to recall so many victories, Europe braved, France during 20 years preponderant; finally, the incomparable glitter of that court of Versailles, and those marvels of letters and arts, which caused the 17th century to be called "the age of Louis XIV." It is the task of history to point out the price which France paid for the impossible project of its monarch:—abroad to dominate Europe, which created hatreds, coalitions, and in the end the disasters of the latter years; at home, to enslave the wills and consciences of his subjects, which provoked the terrible reaction of the succeeding age.



VERSAILLES UNDER LOUIS XIII., PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE.

THIRTEENTH PERIOD.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—DEVELOPMENT OF THE ABUSES
OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY — PROGRESS OF PUBLIC
OPINION (1715-1789).

MINORITY OF LOUIS XV. AND REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF
ORLEANS (1715-1723).

THE weight of the authority of Louis XIV. had been unbearable during the latter years. When the nation became conscious of its removal it breathed again. Both court and city manifested a disrespectful delight, and even the bier of the great monarch was insulted. "I saw," says Voltaire, "little tents erected on the way to St. Denis, in which drinking, singing, and laughing went on. The Jesuit Le Tellier was the principal cause of that universal joy. I heard several spectators say that the houses of the Jesuits ought to be set on fire by the torches which lighted the funeral pomp." Thus opened the 18th century, by a protest against absolute monarchy and the religious direction of the latter days.

The heir of Louis XIV. was his great grandson, a child of only five years of age. By his will, Louis had regulated the administration of the state during the minority of his successor, but the Parliament annulled that instrument, and decreed all the rights of the regency to the first prince of the blood, the Duke of Orleans. That prince dishonoured power by his irreligion and licentiousness, and the infamy of his principal agent, Dubois, who was created a cardinal, and became the pensioner of England. The policy of Louis XIV. was abandoned. The King of Spain sought to obtain the regency of France

for himself, and tried to seize upon it by the conspiracy of Cellamare in 1718. The Duke of Orleans defended himself by seeking the alliance of England, and, as the price of her friendship, sacrificed the French navy.

Louis XIV. had left a debt of nearly two milliards and a half and an annual deficit of 78 millions. A recoinage of money was ordered which produced 70 millions; the revision of unjust claims by the tax-contractors which the state, during the evil days, had subjected to the usury laws and compelled the restitution of 220 millions, of which the courtiers or *roués*, as the regent's friends were called, allowed only 15 millions to reach the treasury. All these measures were only temporary expedients, and, as it will be seen, but little productive to the state.

John Law, a Scotsman, the son of a goldsmith, early initiated in banking operations, an adept at gambling combinations, by which he had made his fortune, and endowed with a powerful mind and ready eloquence, pretended to have discovered a new source of wealth. He founded, in 1716, a joint-stock bank in shares, which discounted merchants' bills at a low rate, facilitated commerce by that means, and itself made excellent profits. Its shares, therefore, were eagerly sought after.

But to his bank, become in 1718 "the Royal Bank," Law added a *Company*, to which he attributed the exclusive privilege of trading with Louisiana and the Mississippi. His first success caused a second to be believed in. Wonders were promised from the Louisiana enterprise, and such were the foolish hopes placed in it that shares of 500 livres were bought at ten, twenty, and forty times their price. Such an extravagant venture was sure to lead to a catastrophe. Law, seeing the public infatuation, thought he could make with impunity such enormous issues of those shares (one milliard, six hundred and seventy-five millions) that confidence was lost. Speedily, the hoped-for profits not arriving, the whole thing crumbled to pieces. In order to save the *company*, Law reunited it to his *bank*. That proved the downfall of

both. The holders of scrip all wished to be immediately reimbursed, the bank failed, and there was not a fortune throughout the kingdom that was not shaken or destroyed. Mendicants became millionaires, princes were ruined. That which was more serious was the demoralization produced by those sudden changes and the taste for an insensate luxury, a result of those illegitimate gains. Law died in Venice in great poverty. Modern banking has adopted the sounder features of his system.

The regent died in 1723. The Duke of Bourbon, his successor, as first minister, only signalled his entrance into power by many private irregularities and an alliance which eventually brought about a war. He made the king marry the daughter of Stanislaus Leczinsky, the dethroned king of Poland.

Cardinal de Fleury, a former preceptor of the king, replaced, in 1726, the Duke of Bourbon. During seventeen years he applied all his efforts towards keeping France in peace, in order to repair her disordered finances. But all the springs of government became relaxed under the hands of that octogenarian minister, who, by a false economy, ended by allowing the naval resources of France to fall into decay.

This disastrous reign had one unimportant war, and two others of a more serious character. The first, for the re-establishment of Leczinsky on the throne of Poland, was marked by the victories of Parma and Guastalla (1734); the peace of Vienna ceded Lorraine to the father-in-law of Louis XV., on condition that that province should return to France after his decease.

The second war (1740-1748) was undertaken in order to despoil Maria Theresa of Austria, but proved profitable only to the King of Prussia, Frederick II., notwithstanding the taking of Prague by the French in 1741, and the victories of Fontenoy (1745), of Raucoux (1746), and of Lawfeld (1747), won by Marshal Saxe. Louis XV., master of the Low Countries, thanks to these successes, knew not how to keep them. "He would not make," he said, "peace in a merchant fashion, but like a king."

He restored his conquests, and France gained not an inch of ground for seven years of fighting. Fleury did not live to see the end of that war, having died in 1743, at the age of eighty-nine.

The activity of the nation, however, displayed itself abroad. Commerce revived, the colonies were flourishing, and an officer of the company of the Indies, Dupleix, seemed on the point of giving Hindostan to France. England aroused herself. Without a declaration of war she captured 300 French ships. France ought to have concentrated all her strength in naval struggles, but she allowed herself to be dragged into a continental war. Allied with Prussia in the preceding war, she became her enemy, because the Empress Maria Theresa humbled her pride so far as to flatter a favourite, the Marchioness de Pompadour. That error had disastrous consequences. War was not carried on vigorously either by sea or land. Frederick II. gained the battle of Rosbach. Thirty-seven ships of the line and fifty frigates were captured or destroyed, the colonies lost, and French commerce ruined. Some slight success on the part of Marshal de Broglie, and the dashing conquest of Minorca by the Duke de Richelieu were not a compensation for the national pride. The results of that war were the greatness of Prussia, which Frederick II. raised to rank amongst the first powers of Europe; and that of England, to which Louis XV., by the treaty of Paris (1763), ceded Canada with all its dependencies, a part of the West Indies, Senegal, and almost all the French possessions in India. The cession of Louisiana to Spain, in 1769, was a consequence of that—for France—deplorable treaty.

These reverses were due to the want of skill of the generals whom their birth, as in the instance of the Comte de Clermont, or favour, as in that of the prince de Soubise, and not their merit, had called to the head of armies. Regiments were purchased and officered by nobles alone. It was with difficulty, even by dint of bravery, that a few plebeians could obtain the rank of officer. Two provinces were, however, under this reign,

added to the kingdom: Lorraine, regained in 1766, after the death of the old King of Poland, Leczinski, to whom Austria had ceded it in 1737, and Corsica, which was abandoned by Genoa to France in 1768. Napoleon was born there in the year following, quite opportunely enabling him to call himself a Frenchman. But those acquisitions ingloriously acquired did not efface the shame of the treaty of Paris.

Louis XV. had, however, if not a great, at least a patriotic minister, the Duke de Choiseul, who signed against England, in 1761, the *Family Pact* between the Bourbons of France, Spain, and Naples. Choiseul re-organised the army, caused what remained of the colonies to flourish, and created a new navy. He could have wished to control at once the two most ambitious and menacing powers of Europe: Russia, in opposing herself to the partition of Poland; England, by exciting discontent amongst the English colonies in America. Finally, at home, he formed projects of reform. He allowed the Parliament to condemn, in 1762, the Jesuits, and dissolve their order. The convents appeared to him too numerous, and he regarded the immunity from taxation accorded to the church for its possessions as a privilege, the suppression of which would help to re-establish the impaired finances of the state. Louis XV., whom so many projects frightened from his repose, sacrificed his minister through the hatred of his favourite mistress, the Countess du Barry (1770).

The Abbé Terray, one of Choiseul's enemies, was next charged with the finances. This man, who looked upon "the people as a sponge which must be squeezed," found no other remedy for reducing the national debt than that of bankruptcy. This bankruptcy, happening in the midst of a scarcity artificially produced by the *Pact of Famine*,* raised to a height the contempt and hatred for a govern-

* A society was so called which monopolised the grain, produced famine in the midst of abundance, and thus gained enormous sums. Louis XV. held shares in this company to the amount of ten millions.

ment so culpable. To the clamours which arose on all sides, Terray coldly replied : "The king is the master ; necessity justifies everything." He did not the less leave a deficit subsisting of twenty-five millions. If the taxes, doubled since 1715, excited murmurs, the *Lettres de Cachet*,* which were daily multiplied in an alarming manner, gave birth to wide-spread anger, for they delivered up the liberty of the citizens to the rich and powerful, who had a passion to satisfy or a vengeance to glut.

About this time, the king also broke up the parliaments, useful instruments, even with their resistances (1771). Henceforward there was no longer room in the state for the slightest opposition, however respectfully and timidly it might legally show itself. Richelieu and Louis XIV. had destroyed the great body of the magistracy. What was there about to remain to support the ancient edifice and cover the monarch ?

And how did Louis XV. use this power, the most absolute ever seen ? He allowed, in 1772, the great political crime of that century to be accomplished, the dismemberment of Poland, of which Austria, Prussia, and Russia shared the bleeding members.

Stanislaus' daughter, the virtuous and amiable consort of Louis XV., died in 1768, lamented for a few brief hours by her dissolute husband, who quickly abandoned himself again to the most shameless profligacy, from which he never afterwards attempted to emancipate himself. He died of small-pox, 10th May 1774, aged 65, having reigned 59 years.

Louis XVI. (1774-1793).—One hope remained. The new king, grandson of Louis XV., was only twenty years of age. He had married, 16th May 1770, Marie Antoinette, Archduchess of Austria, one of the daughters of Maria Theresa. He brought to the throne many

* These *lettres de cachet*, were orders of imprisonment, in which sometimes the name of the person to be imprisoned was left in blank, in order that the individual who had bought or received as a gift the *lettre de cachet* might fill it in at pleasure. One minister of Louis XV., Saint-Florentin, was reputed to have granted fifty thousand.

private virtues, great purity of morals, an amiable disposition, and a desire to do good; but unhappily he was too weak and irresolute to know how to impose his will on those around him. Whilst he was still Dauphin, he remarked one day to the courtiers who were reproaching him for his serious mood, in the midst of the giddy court of his grandfather: "I wish to be called Louis *the Severe*." History in seeking an appropriate surname for him could only apply that given to Charlemagne's successor—Louis *the Good-natured*.

In order to satisfy public opinion, one of his first acts was to re-establish the Parliament, which had been suppressed in the latter part of his predecessor's reign. He abolished slavery throughout his dominions, and the torture, and reduced the taxes. The great question was the reorganization of the finances. The king summoned to the ministry the enlightened M. Turgot, whose probity was only equalled by his science, a worthy citizen who was desirous of saving the monarchy by rigid reforms. He proclaimed free trade in grain, and freedom of labour, and finally the establishment of a territorial tax with equal incidence upon all. The clergy and nobility possessed two-thirds of the property in the kingdom. To subject them to the tax was the only remedy; but they raised a violent clamour, and overthrew the minister who had striven to prevent the revolution by making one himself. "I and M. Turgot only care for the people," said Louis XVI., on signing the dismissal of his minister.

After a few days of reaction, under Maurepas (1777-1781), a frivolous old man of eighty, it became necessary to have recourse to more serious ministers. The Genevese banker, Necker, a man of talent and probity, was named controller-general. Necker made an appeal to credit and opened loans; but that was simply wronging the future for the profit of the present; and when he attempted to return to the system of Turgot and his reforms, the same opposition overthrew him.

A gleam of glory gave truce for a brief space to anxieties. The English colonies in North America had

revolted against the mother country. France supported them. An army sent to America under the command of Rochambeau, and whom the Marquis de la Fayette had preceded, assisted to found the independence of the United States. The first action of any importance was fought off Ushant (27th July 1778). This action was indecisive. Not a single ship was taken or sunk on either side.

The treaty of Versailles (1783) was the last triumph of the old monarchy. It restored to France, Senegal, Tobago, St. Lucia, St. Pierre, and Miquelon; and to Spain, her ally, Minorca and the Floridas. It did much more: in forcing the English to recognise the independence of the American colonies, it constituted a new England in face of old England. The masters of the sea were about to have rivals who have already helped to recognise the freedom of the ocean.

It was a costly triumph for France—more than 1400 millions. And the expenditure for a long time had exceeded the revenue! To increase the deficit, which had risen to more than 100 millions, the publicists, the citizens, and the Parliament demanded political reforms. The success of the American War had brought ideas of liberty into fashion even amongst the great nobles. But the Court turned a deaf ear to them. Louis XVI. yielded to the influence of the queen, Marie Antoinette, who, on the throne of France, remembered too much of Austria. Calonne, the minister favoured by the Court, rejected the reforms as useless, and he was soon reduced to own before the notables (1787), an annual deficit of 140 millions, and an accrued debt in a few years of one milliard six hundred and forty-six millions. Then he himself became an innovator, a greater than Turgot, even than Necker. The fatal words therefore returned perpetually, the *abuses*, the *privileges*, and always to be scouted! The successor of Calonne, Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, attempted to establish new taxes. The Parliament refused to register them, and demanded the *States-general*. It was the voice of France; the king convoked them to meet at Versailles on the 1st May (1789).

FOURTEENTH PERIOD.

ABASEMENT OF FRANCE — PROGRESS OF PUBLIC OPINION
(1715-1789)—CONSTITUTIONAL FRANCE (FROM 1789)
—THE REVOLUTION (1789-1795).

The National Assembly (1789-1791).—The reunion of the states became the sole hope of France. In what form should they be reunited? Should the commons (*tiers-état*) occupy the same rank as in 1614, when it was so humiliated, or, on the contrary, should it be rendered dominant therein? During two centuries things had progressed rapidly. The commons had become a considerable order, by its wealth, its intelligence, its activity, and the high functions which its chiefs filled in the government and administration of the country. It was the commons who bore the whole weight of the taxation. Since its purse was the common treasury, it was inevitable that the more the monarchy should become spendthrift, the more it would place itself in a state of dependance, and that a moment would arrive when, weary of paying, it would demand accounts. That day may be called the Revolution of 1789.

In a celebrated pamphlet, the Abbé Siéyès answered questions which every one was then asking. "What is the third estate?" "The nation." "What is that?" "Nothing." "What ought it to be?" "Everything." Thus, to the phrase of Louis XIV.: "The State, that is myself," Siéyès replied: "The State, that is ourselves." He estimated, in fact, the number of nobles, of all ages and ranks at less than 110,000: a feeble minority lost in the mass of 26,000,000 of men.

The Court, especially the queen, the Count d'Artois, the Prince of Condé, had desired that the States-general

should occupy themselves solely with matters of finance, and that, the deficit filled up, the debts paid, the deputies might be dismissed to their homes. But political reforms were the best precaution to take against the return of the deficit. The nation understood it and willed it.

It was especially necessary that unanimity should exist amongst the two privileged orders, for the maintenance of the privileges. In the church, as in the army, the functions were often on one side, the revenues on the other. There were colonels in the cradle, abbés of twenty, and bishops of twenty-five. Old majors badly looked after and badly paid, commanded for the one class a regiment; a claustral prior or a vicar administered for the other. The clergy and the nobility had therefore each their democracy: the curés and the officiating ministers of the village; the other the cadets of families and poor gentlemen reduced to become officers of fortune. There was, however, this difference, that the curés at the outset accepted the Revolution, whilst the provincial nobility, especially in the west, very soon showed themselves opposed to the movement. That opposition did not appear at the first moment of the Revolution. The rush was at first general. The entire nation, nobles, priests, and plebeians, with the exception of some few of the privileged who then kept silence, was agreed to regenerate itself.

The States-general met on the 5th May at Versailles. The first question which presented itself was the following: "Shall the vote be taken by a show of hands or by order?" If the vote were taken by order, the majority was secured to the clergy and nobility; if by show of hands it was certain to fall to the deputies of the third estate, more numerous than those of the two other orders united. The deputies of the third, masters of the common hall, summoned to join them the dissidents of the clergy and nobility; and on the 17th June 1789, they declared themselves, on the motion of Siéyès, *The Constituent National Assembly*.

The Court, terrified, closed the hall of the sittings; but

the deputies reassembled on the 20th June, in the tennis court, and there took the solemn oath not to separate before having given a constitution to France. Henceforward events were precipitately hurried on.

On the 22nd, one hundred and forty-eight members of the clergy came to sit amongst the deputies of the third estate. On the 23rd, the king annulled, in a royal sitting, all the decisions of the third estate, and forbade the members of the three orders to unite. The master of the ceremonies ordered the common hall to be evacuated. The Revolution answered him by the voice of Mirabeau: "Go, tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and will only quit at the point of the bayonet." And the assembly declared itself inviolable. On the 25th, forty-seven members of the nobility joined the third estate. On the 27th, the king himself invited the dissidents to finish the fusion of the orders.

But the Court secretly collected all the troops it could muster, and dismissed Necker, the popular minister. Paris replied to these provocations by an insurrection. Camille Desmoulins excited the people to revolt at the Palais Royal; the royal guards passed to their side, and the German regiments, encamped in the Champs Elysées, fell back upon Versailles. The citizens armed and incorporated themselves under the appellation of the "National Guard." But the populace did not pause. On the 14th July it attacked the Bastille, in spite of its lofty towers, mounted with cannon, in spite of the army which surrounded Paris, and took it.

"It is a revolt, then!" exclaimed Louis XVI. on learning the news. "No, sire," replied the Duke de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, "it is a revolution." On the previous day they had sent back his soldiers beaten, on the next they had demolished his fortress. The grandson of Louis XIV. went to the Assembly, and thence to Paris, declaring that he was at one with the nation; that he would recall Necker, that he would send away the troops, that he sanctioned the establishment of the National Guard. That guard mounted the blue and red cockade

of Paris, in the centre of which La Fayette placed the white cockade of royalty, saying: "There is a cockade which will make the tour of the world!"

At the tidings of these events which had happened in Paris, the agitation spread rapidly all over France. In many places, the peasants burned the convents and châteaux in order to destroy the ancient titles and feudal charters. It became urgent to prevent a *jacquerie* by a revolution.

On the 4th August, the clergy and nobility renounced their feudal rights, and on the 20th a declaration of rights was agreed on to serve as a basis of the new constitution. On the 20th September, it received the royal sanction. Though under this new constitution the crown was not abolished, yet its whole real power was taken away.

Up to the month of October, the Assembly occupied itself with the constitution. But around the king had sprung up a hope of still arresting everything. The Court again talked about an appeal to force. These muttered threats against the Assembly brought about the days of the 5th and 6th of October. The populace of Paris, driven to despair by the famine, rushed to Versailles, and forced their way into the royal abode. They seized two of the body-guard, dragged them from their posts, and murdered them in the most cruel manner. A party rushed into the queen's apartments with loud outcries, execrations, and threats. The sentinel, after bravely resisting for a few minutes, finding himself entirely overpowered, opened the queen's door, and called out with a loud voice, "Save the queen: her life is aimed at: I stand alone against two thousand tigers!" He soon after sank down covered with wounds, and was left for dead; but coming again to the use of his senses, he had the good fortune to creep away unobserved through the crowd. In this imminent danger, the Marquis de la Fayette interposed. He commanded the national guard, and had come to Versailles the preceding evening. He had but little influence over his troops, and less over the *raging mob*; but, on the king promising to set out

instantly for Paris, he succeeded in checking the immediate progress of violence. The king was brought back to Paris. "Henry IV. conquered his people," remarked Bailly to Louis XVI.; the people have just conquered their king." With Louis XVI. at Paris, the populace thought that by the same blow they had driven away famine! "We bring back the baker," they said. The Assembly followed the king, and, like him, found themselves in the hands of the people of that great city, and soon the citizens and their representatives, La Fayette and Bailly, two honest and moderate men, could no longer restrain them.

Already deplorable excesses had been committed. The rabble, excited by want, danger, and suspicion, had become accastomed to strike those whom it looked upon as guilty, and, in its reckless executions, had already acquired a taste for blood. After the fall of the Bastille, of de Launay, its governor, and of Flesselle, the provost, the minister Foulon, and the intendant Berthier had been massacred. At Versailles several gardes-du-corps had been slain whilst defending the queen. In the provinces, the peasants did not always content themselves with tearing up feudal titles, demolishing towers and drawbridges, they struck down sometimes the lord likewise. Terror seized alike upon Court and château. The most imprudent advisers of the king, the Count d'Artois, his brother, the Prince of Condé, the Polignacs, etc., took to flight, leaving him alone amongst the people, whose terrible wrath they were about to excite by directing against their country the hand of the foreigner.

The National Assembly, however, pursued the course of its memorable labours. In the name of liberty, it freed from every shackle dissident creeds, the press, and industry; in the name of justice, it suppressed birthright; in the name of equality, it abolished nobility and titles, declared all Frenchmen admissible to public functions, whatsoever might be their religion, and replaced the old provincial demarcations by their division into 83 departments.

Money left the kingdom with the emigrants, and was, moreover, hidden through fear of insurrection. The Assembly ordered the emission of 400 millions of *assignats* hypothecated upon the possessions of the clergy, the sale of which it directed. At the same time monastic vows ceased to be recognised by the law, the cloisters were thrown open, and the parliaments replaced by elective tribunals.

The sovereignty of the nation being proclaimed, it was concluded that all power must flow from the people. Election was therefore everywhere introduced. A deliberative council was placed in the departments, the districts, and communes, beside the executive council, as the legislative body was placed beside the king. And already some found that, in this system, an hereditary king was an inconsequence.

The Court, however, did not, and could not, accept the constitution. Overcome at Paris on the 14th July, and at Versailles on the 6th October, the nobles fled to Coblenz, and thence conspired openly against France. Those who had remained near the king conspired secretly. The king, who never had a will of his own, let things take their course. He accepted publicly the decrees of the Assembly, and, in secret, he protested against the violence done to his rights—a double game, which has ever brought misfortune.

At the fête of the Federation held in the Champ de Mars, 14th July 1790, the king swore solemnly, in presence of one hundred thousand representatives, fidelity to the constitution. The spirit of concord and of fraternal devotion which had filled every heart during that fête, made it one of the magnificent days of the Revolution, but one which had no morrow. Underhand hostilities recommenced immediately between the Court and the Assembly. The cause was the *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*, which, applying to the church the reform introduced into the state, submitted to election even the curés and bishops, and troubled all the ecclesiastical hierarchy *then* existent. The pope condemned this new organiza-

tion, and forbade it being obeyed. The king opposed his *veto* thereto. He withdrew it after an insurrection. But the great majority of the clergy refused to take the oath to the constitution. Schism entered thereupon into the Church of France. In its train were speedily to follow persecutions and a frightful civil war.

The king, outraged in his conscience by this decree, as he was in his inclinations by the measures which the Assembly forced him to take against emigration, felt himself no longer free. That liberty which he had not at the Tuilleries, he thought to regain by taking refuge in the camp of Bouillé, whence he could summon Austria and Prussia to his aid. Arrested in his flight at Varennes (21st June 1791), he was suspended from his functions by the Assembly, and the populace demanding, the 17th July, in the Champ de Mars, his abdication, Bailly ordered the red flag to be displayed and to fire upon the troops.

Two men had signally distinguished themselves in the Constituent Assembly: Mirabeau by his impetuous eloquence, Siéyès by his imperturbable logic. It was Mirabeau who enunciated the formula of the new era which was opening for the people: "Right is the sovereign of the world." On the 30th September, this *first* National Assembly, which is often called the *Constituent* Assembly, dissolved itself, after having, by a kind of self-denying ordinance, excluded all its members from being eligible to seats in the next Assembly. This was an imprudent disinterestedness at a moment at which, more than ever, liberty had need that the veterans of the Revolution should hold its flag aloft, and firmly, above the heads of the ferocious dreamers.

The Legislative Assembly (1st Oct. 1791 to 21st Sept. 1792) opened on the 1st October, and soon gave proof of a most lamentable unfitness for the important functions devolved on it. Its leaders, the Girondins, laboured to overthrow royalty, but in leaving to extreme parties the initiative of the republic which they made sanguinary, they were themselves hindered, probably, from taking a more moderate course. The first decrees

were launched against the emigrants who had just signed the declaration of Pilnitz with Prussia and Austria, and the unsworn priests who, by their refusal to take the civic oath, became the cause of troubles in the provinces, especially in La Vendée and Brittany. The king refused at first to sanction these decrees. The declaration of war which he made against Austria (20th April 1792) could not dissipate the fear of secret negotiations of the Court with the enemy; and the defeat of the French troops at the rencontre of Quievrain, raised a cry of treason.

On the 20th June 1792, an attack was made on the Tuileries by a republican party which was now gaining ascendancy. The king and royal family took refuge in the Legislative Assembly. The Swiss, deserted perfidiously by the national guard, were at length overpowered and gave way. All of them, and not the guards only, but the servants of the palace also, were massacred, and even those who escaped to the Assembly were with difficulty saved from the popular fury. Four thousand persons had perished. On the 14th August the royal family were sent prisoners to the old fortress of the Temple.

The constitution was torn up, and a *Convention* was convoked to draw up a new constitution. Meanwhile, the combined armies had entered France with the full expectation of a speedy victory. The operations of the Duke of Brunswick were, in the first instance, successful. He took Longwy and Verdun, and it was expected that he would advance immediately on Paris.

All France was in a state of the greatest disorder. Before the Convention could assemble, and when the legislative body had already lost all authority by the approach of its end, a great crime terrified France. The prisons of Paris were forced on the 2nd and 5th of September, and 966 prisoners massacred. Danton had uttered these sinister words: "We must strike fear into the royalists; audacity, audacity, and still more audacity." A small number of assassins, kept in pay by the Paris commune, had answered this appeal. The populace re-

pudiated all complicity in the crime. The Bicêtre, said to contain above 4000 persons, was next besieged by the same sanguinary band; and after a resistance of eight days it was taken, and every soul within the walls put to death. Other massacres were perpetrated at Orleans, Rheims, Lyons, and Meaux.

The Convention (Sept. 21 1792–Oct. 27). Abolition of Royalty.—At its first sitting, the Convention abolished royalty and proclaimed the Republic. On the 3rd December, it decided that Louis XVI. should be tried by it, contrary to the constitution, which declared the king inviolable, and pronounced no other sentence against him than that of forfeiture. But Louis, overthrown, was condemned beforehand. The venerable Malesherbes demanded and obtained the honour of defending his old master. A young advocate named Desèze, associated with the latter in the defence, had the boldness to say: "I look for judges in you, but see only accusers." He spoke the truth. The situation was critical; England was threatening, the Austrians were about to make greater efforts, and a coalition of the whole of Europe was imminent. "Let us throw a king's head in defiance at them," exclaimed Danton. Louis ascended the scaffold on the 21st January 1793.

First Coalition (1793–1797).—At the news of the death of Louis XVI., the European powers, who were still hesitating, declared war against France, and all the frontiers were menaced, at the same moment when in Brittany and La Vendée civil war was kindled. The Convention energetically made head everywhere against its enemies. Fourteen armies were raised to intimidate foreign enemies; for the interior a revolutionary tribunal was created, which sentenced without appeal, and punished with death for a word—for a regret—for the name only which a man bore (10th March 1793).

The Reign of Terror.—The defection of Dumouriez, who abandoned his army to pass over to the Austrian camp (4th April 1793), increased the fears and caused the revolutionary measures to be multiplied. In order

that no traitor might escape, the Convention renounced the inviolability of its members; and, abdicating of itself a part of its powers, it created within itself a *Committee of Public Safety*, which was, as it were, invested with executive power. Suspicion, in fact, everywhere prevailed. Robespierre firmly believed that the Girondins desired to dismember France, and lay it open to the foreigner; the Girondins, that Marat, Robespierre, and Danton wished to make the Duke of Orleans king, assassinate him immediately afterwards, and then establish a triumvirate, from which Danton would hurl his two colleagues to reign alone. Each gave his adversaries credit for the most absurd plans. Hence suspicion, fear—that terrible counsellor—and the axe suspended over every man's head. This system had but one name—*The Terror*; terror alike amongst the executioners as amongst the victims, and so much the more pitiless.

Proscription of the Girondins.—The first decree was soon put into execution. The *Mountain*, which had for its chiefs Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, framed an accusation against thirty-one Girondins (2nd June), several of whom, having escaped from the search after them, endeavoured to raise the departments. Thereupon Caen, Bordeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, and the greater number of the southern towns declared against the Convention; Toulon was surrendered to the English with all the Mediterranean fleet; Condé and Valenciennes fell into the enemy's hands. Mayence, occupied by French troops, capitulated; on the north and south the enemy crossed the frontiers. At the same time the Vendean were everywhere victorious, and another enemy, a frightful scarcity, provoked the internal disorganization.

The cause of the Revolution, defended by less than thirty departments, seemed lost; the Convention saved it by displaying a savage energy. Merlin drew up the law touching the suspected (*loi des suspects*), which threw more than three hundred thousand individuals into prison; and Barriere, said in the name of the committee of public safety. “The Republic is nothing more than a great city

in a state of siege, therefore France must be nothing more than a vast camp." In answer to this appeal, 1,200,000 men were enrolled. Bordeaux and Lyons re-entered the Republic. Bonaparte, then captain of artillery, retook Toulon. The Vendéans were driven from the gates of Nantes, and Jourdan, at the head of the principal army, kept the coalition in check.



LYONS.

Such extraordinary efforts were not accomplished without terrible internal convulsions. The nobles and priests, proscribed under the name of *suspects*, perished in crowds upon scaffolds erected in all the cities. Carrier, Fréron, Collot d'Herbois, Couthon, Fouché, Barras, showed themselves pitiless. The assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday, who, by killing him, thought to kill *the Terror* (13th July), rendered it more implacable. The queen, Marie Antoinette, her sister, Madame Elizabeth, Bailly, the Girondin chiefs, the Duke of Orleans, General Custine, Madame Roland, Lavoisier, Malesherbes, and a thousand other illustrious heads fell by the guillotine. Then the men of the mountain were torn by dissensions. Robespierre and St. Just, supported by the powerful society of the *Jacobins*, proscribed at first the hideous anarchists of

the party of d'Hébert; after the latter, Camille Desmoulins and Danton, who talked of indulgence.

End of the Terror.—Some few of the men who, in turn, had overthrown Robespierre, were the self-same who had pushed *the Terror* to its utmost limits. But such was the force of public opinion that they were constrained to appear to have only conquered for the sake of moderation. The fall of Robespierre became thus the signal of a reaction which, in spite of frightful excesses, allowed, however, France to breathe again. The guillotine ceased to be the great means of government; and if the parties continued for a long time yet to proscribe each other, at least the people were not called upon to witness that hideous spectacle of thirty or forty heads falling daily under the knife. During the 420 days of the Reign of Terror, 2669 condemnations had been pronounced by the revolutionary tribunal and executed. From the 10th to 27th July, 1400 persons had perished at Paris. But who could reckon the number of victims of Couthon and Collot d'Herbois at Lyons, of Lebon at Arras, of Carrier at Nantes, of Fréron at Toulouse and Marseilles, of Tallien at Bordeaux?

The reign of *Terror* had given an intense vigour to the war carrying on against the foreign enemies. Immense resources were placed in the power of the state by the confiscation of the property of the wretched victims of its tyranny; and these were employed with the greatest activity by the intrepid officers who rose to command in the army, at a time when no man could be ambitious or commanding who was not of the hardest and most decisive character. A brilliant campaign came fortunately to console France in mourning. Pichegru beat the Duke of York and the Austrian general, Clairfait; Hoche drove beyond the Rhine Brunswick and Wurmser; Jourdan beat the Duke of Coburg at Fleurus; Dugommier and Moncey the Spaniards, who had lost Fontarabia and St. Sebastian. Even a winter of uncommon severity did not stop the tide of success. Crossing the Waal on the ice, the French troops advanced rapidly into the very

heart of the Dutch territories, without encountering any effectual opposition. Pichegru having thus conquered Holland, he constituted out of it a Batavian republic absolutely dependant upon France, and Hoche pacified La Vendée. Two monarchial powers, Spain and Prussia, terrified at their defeats, made peace with the republic. England, Austria, Sardinia, and Germany, still remained in arms.

On the 1st of June 1794, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse engaged, with twenty-six sail of the line, the English fleet commanded by Lord Howe, who captured seven sail of the line, and two were sunk. One of them, *Le Vengeur*, rather than haul down her flag, went to the bottom, her crew singing the *Marseillaise*. Scarcely any attempt was made after this defeat to contest with England the empire of the sea. All the French West India Islands were captured by England, as well as Corsica, from which the French were expelled.

The Convention, however, having emerged victorious from the strife which followed the 9th Thermidor,* abolished the democratic constitution of 1793, which had not yet been put into execution, but its disgraceful career terminated 27th Oct. 1795. A new constitution succeeded, by which the legislature was divided into two assemblies; one called the Council of the Ancients, and consisted of 250 members, all of whom were, at least, 40 years old, and the other called the Council of the 500. The Council of the 500 alone could propose any laws. The Council of the Ancients might either *reject* or *accept*, but could not *alter*, any decrees which might pass the 500. The executive power was placed in the hands of a *Directory*, consisting of five members, of whom it was appointed that one member should go out every year.

* The Convention had replaced the Gregorian calendar by the Republican calendar. The new era began on the 22nd September 1792, and ended on the 9th September 1805. The twelve months were: Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire, for Autumn; Nivose, Pluviôse, Ventose, for Winter; Germinal, Floréal, Prairial, for Spring; Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor, for Summer. Thus 14 Thermidor, year X., stood for 2nd August 1802, etc.

It was hoped thereby to escape from a dictatorship, and constitute a moderate republic; the result was only a feeble and anarchial republic.

The primary assemblies accepted the constitutional act; but troubles broke out in Paris. Several sections of the national guard, hurried away by the royalists, marched in arms upon the Convention. Barras, whom the assembly had named general-in-chief, charged Bonaparte with its defence. The day of the 13th Vendémiaire secured his triumph, and the fortune of the young officer, whose skilful dispositions had rendered the superiority of numbers useless. On the 4th Brumaire following, the Convention declared its mission terminated (26th Oct. 1795).

The Directory and the Consulate—**The Directory** (29th Oct. 1795-18th June 1799).—Before dissolving itself, the Convention had taken care to decree that two-thirds of the members of the Council of the Ancients and of that of the 500 should be taken from amongst the Conventionists. The latter, therefore, had the majority in the councils; they elected for directors five regicides. These five members of the new government took up their abode in the Luxembourg Palace. The situation was a difficult one. The treasury was empty, and the *assignats* had fallen into the most complete discredit. Commerce and industry no longer existed; the armies were wanting in provisions, clothing, and even munitions. But three years of such a war had formed the soldiers and generals. Moreau commanded the army of the Rhine; Jourdan, that of the Sambre and Meuse; Hoche watched the sea-shores to defend them against the English, and pacify Brittany and La Vendée. Finally, he who was destined to eclipse all the others, Bonaparte, a native of Corsica, and godson of Paoli, then aged twenty-seven, had just received on the 13th Vendémiaire, the command of the army of the interior, which he soon exchanged for that of the army of Italy.

The Campaigns of Bonaparte in Italy (1796-1797).—*The campaigns in Italy raised at once this extraordinary man to great distinction. On placing himself at the*

head of the army of Italy, he found it cantoned among the Alps, where it was struggling painfully against the Sardinian troops, whilst the Austrians were threatening Genoa, and marching upon the Var. With the glance of genius, Bonaparte chose his field of battle. Instead of exhausting his forces amongst those sterile rocks, where great blows could not be struck, he turned the Alps, the passage of which he was unable to force, and placed himself by that skilful manoeuvre between the Piedmontese and the Austrians, cut them off from each other, beat them successively, drove back the former upon the Apennines, the others into their capital, and followed up closely the Sardinian army until it laid down its arms. Delivered from one enemy, he turned upon the other. In vain Beaulieu, terrified at the victories of Montenotte (11th April), of Millesimo (14th), of Dego (15th), and of Mondovi (22nd), fell back in all haste; Bonaparte followed, overtook, and crushed him. At the bridge of Lodi, the Austrians tried to stop him by the fire of a formidable artillery: they were overthrown (10th May). To Beaulieu succeeded Wurmser, the best general of Austria; to the first army, a second, more numerous and inured to war: it disappeared like the other (by the victories of Lonato and Castiglione, 3rd and 5th August, and of Bassano, 8th Sept.). Alvinzi replaced Wurmser; he was crushed at Arcola (Nov. 1796) and Rivoli (Jan. 1797). The Archduke Charles was not more fortunate. All the armies, all the generals of Austria came only to fail against less than 40,000 men, led by a general of twenty-eight.

During those marvellous campaigns in Italy, Jourdan was repulsed by the Archduke Charles at Wurtzbourg, who then menaced Moreau, to whom Bonaparte, detained by the siege of Mantua, and by the attempts of the Austrians to recover their interests in that quarter, was wholly unable to send assistance. Moreau, however, extricated himself, and effected a retreat into France which has been greatly celebrated for its masterly conduct. *The treaty of Campo-Formio, signed by Bonaparte*

17th Oct. 1797, gave back the Rhine as a frontier to France. Beyond the Alps, France had acquired a devoted ally in the new cis-Alpine republic founded by Bonaparte, including Milan, Modena, and Bologna.

Expedition to Egypt (1798-1799).—Austria had sheathed the sword; but England, unassailable in her island, would not consent to let France retain so many conquests. The war continued, therefore, with her. In order to strike her to the heart by destroying her commerce, the Directory undertook the expedition to Egypt, which Bonaparte conducted. From the banks of the Nile, he hoped to reach England in India, and destroy her empire there. At the battles of the Pyramids (21st July 1798), and of Mount Thabor (16th April 1799), he scattered before him the Mameluks and Turks. But the destruction of the French fleet by Nelson, at Aboukir (12th Aug. 1798), in depriving him of siege artillery, caused him to fail before St. Jean d' Acre (20th May 1799), valiantly defended by Sir Sydney Smith. From that moment, shut up in Egypt, he could do nothing of moment. After having again exterminated a Turkish army at Aboukir (25th July 1799), he abandoned his conquest, and carried back to France his sword and his genius.

Reverses in Europe.—During his absence, the weakness of the Directory had allowed all the fruits of the peace of Campo-Formio to be lost; the war had recommenced with Austria; and Italy, into which the French forces had penetrated as far as Naples, was lost. The victory of Massena at Zurich (25th Sept. 1799), and that of Brune at Bergen (19th Sept.), helped to save France from an invasion.

In the interior, the struggle of parties recommenced with greater animation, but happily less murderously. After many obscure and intricate transactions, the two legislative bodies were adjourned to St. Cloud, which is at a distance of about six miles from Paris.

The Consulate (10th Nov. 1799-16th May 1804)—*The Three Consuls.*—On the 10th of November 1799,

Bonaparte, accompanied by some twenty officers and grenadiers, entered the hall of the council of 500. After a great tumult, a body of troops made their appearance, and the members of the council were ordered to disperse. The final result of this new change in the Constitution was to abolish the Directory, and to vest the executive power in one chief Consul, with two other consuls assisting him. The three consuls primarily nominated were Bonaparte, Siéyès, and Roger-Ducos. From the first day, Siéyès recognised that he had found his master. Bonaparte rejected his plans, and caused a Constitution to be adopted (called "of the year VIII."), which placed in his hands, under the title of First Consul (29th Dec. 1799), the most important prerogatives of authority. His two colleagues, Lebrun and Cambacérès, had only a consultative voice.

Hitherto, Bonaparte had been known only as a great general; he now showed himself greater as an administrator. His first care was the re-establishment of order. Proclaiming of himself oblivion of the past, and the reconciliation of parties, he declared the former nobles admissible to offices, recalled the proscribed of the 18th Fructidor, reopened the churches, and closed the list of emigrants. The rural districts were cleared of the bandits by which they were infested, and, in order to found an administration at once strong and intelligent, he constituted each department after the image of the State itself.

Meanwhile, the royalists, deceived in their hopes, had raised in the west the banner of insurrection; Bonaparte stifled by energetic measures that new civil war. On the frontiers, especially on the side of Italy, serious dangers threatened the Republic. The situation seemed the same as that of 1796. France was about to be invaded. Instead of repeating his manœuvre of turning the Alps as on the first occasion, Bonaparte audaciously crossed over them by the St. Bernard, and fell upon the rear of Mélas. In a single battle, at Marengo, he reconquered Italy (14th June 1800). This transcendant success, and the victory of Moreau at Hohenlinden, forced Austria to

sign the peace of Lunéville (8th Jan. 1801), shortly followed by the peace of Amiens, which England accepted (25th March 1802).

Bonaparte had reached the summit of glory. For the second time he had given peace to France. Egypt was lost, and an expedition to make the negroes of St. Domingo, who had emancipated themselves and set up a republic of their own, recognise the authority of the metropolis, was on the eve of failure. But those distant disasters scarcely awakened an echo in France. They were forgotten whilst beholding the virulence of party spirit calm down under the firm and skilful hand of the First Consul, and order everywhere renewed. For industry, he revived the powerful impulse given it by Colbert. Commerce was encouraged, the finances re-organised, roads and ports repaired, and arsenals replenished. Between France and Italy he constructed the magnificent route of the Simplon, and founded hospices upon the summit of the Alps. The Civil Code was discussed in his presence, and he was already elaborating a project for a powerful organization of national education. A marvellous activity, an unheard of power of work, made him see, comprehend, and do everything. Arts and letters received at his hands precious encouragement. A stranger to the rancours of the last ten years, he welcomed back the emigrants, recalled the priests, and signed with Pius VII. the *Concordat*, that is to say, the religious peace. He endeavoured to efface former hatreds, and constitute only one great party, that of France. Finally, whilst chaining the revolution to his car, he preserved its principles in his Civil Code, that is to say, he rendered it imperishable.

But he could not disarm all his enemies. Every day fresh conspiracies were formed against his life. He had very nearly perished by the infernal machine of the Rue St. Nicaise. To hurl back again, as he himself said, the *terror* upon his enemies, he caused Georges Cadoudal to be executed, who had come to Paris to assassinate him; he exiled Moreau, imprisoned Pichegru, who strangled

himself in his dungeon, and causing, against the law of nations, the Duke d'Enghien to be brought from the Castle of Ettenheim, near Baden, he delivered him up to a military commission, which sentenced him to death and had him shot, that same night, on the moat of Vincennes (20th March 1804).

Attempts of this kind have the effect of strengthening that which they seek to overthrow. The brilliant soldier of Arcole and Rivoli, become first general of the Republic, had aspired to govern France, which the Directory did not govern, or governed badly. Named First Consul for ten years, he had won, by transcendent services, the gratitude of the nation, and when factions directed against him an infernal machine or the dagger of the assassin, France protested against those criminal attempts by prolonging his decennial functions for life. And when the attempt of Cadoudal had once again struck it with terror, it replied to the royalist plots by offering him the empire. The tribunal, almost unanimously, agreed in voting that Bonaparte should be named hereditary Emperor: the Senate proclaimed him under the name of Napoleon I., and the people ratified by 3,572,329 suffrages against 2569, the establishment of a new dynasty, which, born of the Revolution, should preserve the principles of it (18th May 1804). But the powerful master of France did not know how to become master of himself and to restrain his ambition.

The Empire (18th May 1804-11th April 1814).—More than three millions and a half of suffrages had accepted the empire. Pope Pius VII. came himself to Paris to crown the new Charlemagne (2nd Dec. 1804). In order to invest the newly set-up throne with the glitter of the old monarchies, Napoleon created a new nobility: counts, dukes, and princes. He made eighteen marshals, and gave them titles and lands. The ancient court offices were revived, grand dignitaries, chamberlains, and pages. He hoped to reunite, under the same titles, the men of the revolution and those of the ancient regime; he displeased the one and the other.

The Italian Republic, constituted in the image of the French Republic, followed to the end the vicissitudes of the latter. Napoleon was already president of the Italian Republic. Created Emperor in France, he became king in Italy (18th March 1805). That beautiful country might be regenerated in his hands. "You have only local laws," said he to the deputies of the cis-Alpine republic; "you need general laws." He meant to say, "You are only envious municipalities, enemies of each other; you must become a state." That unity which Napoleon I. desired to give the Italians by at first making them French, Napoleon III. secured to them by leaving them Italians.

On the 21st October 1805, the news of a great naval reverse gave profound anxiety to the emperor. The same day on which the Austrian general, Mack, evacuated Ulm, Admiral Villeneuve was defeated by Nelson in the sanguinary battle of Trafalgar, which cost the combined fleet of France and Spain eighteen ships of the line and 7000 men. The English had 3000 killed, amongst whom Nelson alone was as much to be regretted by them as the loss of an army. This defeat was the irrevocable condemnation of the imperial navy. Napoleon reckoned upon it no longer; and despairing of being able to grapple hand to hand with England, he was urged still further on by the idea, which already possessed his mind, of ruining his inexpugnable enemy, by shutting him out of the Continent. But the coalition, supported by England, could not resign itself to tamely witness the triumph of the novel ideas and insolent power of Napoleon. The English aristocracy especially, directed by Pitt, would have risked its last soldier, and its last crown-piece, rather than accept France with all its strength and all its triumphs. By the treaty of Amiens, she had engaged to evacuate Malta, the key of the Mediterranean, but Napoleon complained that she did not do so quickly enough. He therefore sent troops into Holland, and threatened the British Isles with a descent. English energy averted that peril. The emperor was at the camp

of Boulogne when he learned that 220,000 Austrians were advancing upon the Rhine and the Adige. It was necessary to put off the projected descent. Napoleon avenged himself by a series of victories which brought him within the walls of Vienna, and which he crowned by the great battle of Austerlitz, won on the 2nd Dec. 1805, over the allied armies of Austria and Russia; and Austria was necessarily compelled to submit to whatever terms the conqueror thought fit to dictate.

Thus the triumphs of France by land amply compensated for her losses by sea. But England, encouraged by her naval victory of Trafalgar, continued the struggle, and decided Prussia to descend in turn into the arena. Napoleon replied to the provocation of the Berlin cabinet by a thunderbolt. The war was decided in a single campaign; the Prussians were irretrievably ruined at the battle of Jena (1806). Behind Prussia, Napoleon found yet once more Russia. After a longer and harder contest, in which he gave the Russian troops the first check at Eylau (8th Feb. 1807), he crushed them at Friedland (14th June), and Alexander signed the peace of Tilsit (7th July). By the terms of this peace the King of Prussia was stripped of almost half his dominions. These spoils of Prussia were given to Saxony and Westphalia, two new kingdoms now created by Napoleon. In the Electorate of Saxony, the elector was made king, and Prussian Poland was added to his dominions. Jerome Bonaparte was made king of Westphalia.

After Austerlitz and Jena, Napoleon had resumed, on a larger scale, the plan of what was called the League of the Rhine, planned in the 17th century by Mazarin and Louis XIV. He had created the Confederation of the Rhine (12th July 1806), to establish in the west of Germany a body of states capable of establishing an equilibrium against the powers of the east, Prussia and Austria; and fourteen princes also of the south and west of Germany placed themselves under the protection of Napoleon. Thus terminated, after having lasted so many ages, the existence of what is properly called the Germanic

Empire. Francis II. renounced by proclamation the title of Emperor of *Germany*, and assumed that of Emperor of *Austria* in its stead.

At the same time, Napoleon organised new kingdoms for his brothers: for Louis, that of Holland; for Joseph, that of Naples; and later, that of Spain; for Murat, his brother-in-law, the grand-duchy of Berg, which Murat exchanged for the crown of Naples. By so doing, he sought to form around his empire a belt of states, placed under the influence of French ideas, that is to say, under that of the principles of the Revolution, and which should aid him in his struggle against the feudal and absolutist regime of Prussia, Austria, and Russia.

Every power of the continent that had dared to resist the arms of France, was at this time humbled by repeated defeats. England alone remained inaccessible. The hope of disputing the command of the seas with her seemed so remote as to baffle all expectation. To attack the commerce of that proud island with the Continent seemed to be the only method left of weakening its power. On the 21st Nov. 1806, the emperor had declared, at Berlin, the British Isles in a state of blockade, and consequently interdicted all commerce with them. Russia and Denmark took part with him in this policy, which required them to break off all communication with England; and at length those powers joined France openly in the war. Portugal refusing to associate herself with this new policy, Napoleon formed a *corps d' armée* under Junot, to drive the English out of that kingdom. During these operations, the Court of Madrid presented to the world a most sorrowful spectacle. The hereditary prince was conspiring against his father, influenced by an unworthy favourite; and the king invoked the aid of the French emperor. Napoleon met the king and prince at Bayonne, and decided the old monarch to abdicate in his favour (9th May 1808). Ferdinand was relegated to the château of Valençay; and Charles retired to that of Compiègne. Napoleon was desirous of resuming the policy of Louis XIV., and secure to himself Southern Spain, to have free

liberty of action in the North. The plan was good, but its execution bad. This attempt to lay his hand upon Spain was Napoleon's greatest fault, and one of the causes of the fall of the empire.

The French troops, already in Spain, made themselves masters of Madrid; but the courage of the soldiers, and the skill of their chiefs, were powerless against the religious and patriotic fanaticism of the Spaniards. His brother, Joseph Bonaparte, whom he imposed upon them as king, had doubtless rendered great services to Spain, but a people will not accept even liberty when it is a foreigner who brings it. Napoleon had fain win victories, and conduct his brother to Madrid: in that mountainous country, the insurrection, crushed at one point, reappeared at another; and then England furnished arms, money, soldiers, and generals.

Notwithstanding all the assurances which Napoleon received from all the continental powers at the interview of Erfurth, the English knew how to organise a fifth coalition, which compelled the emperor to leave unfinished his Spanish enterprise, to rush once more into Germany. On the 12th May 1809, he entered Vienna for the second time, and on the 6th of July following, gained the bloody battle of Wagram, followed by the Peace of Vienna.

This was the moment of Napoleon's greatest ascendancy. His empire, which extended from the mouths of the Elbe to those of the Tiber, included one hundred and thirty departments. His marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa had just connected him with the old royal houses of Europe. The birth of a son (20th March 1811), who was proclaimed King of Rome in his cradle, and who died Duke of Reichstadt, swelled to the utmost the tide of his prosperity.

Already, however, his arms were no longer invincible. In Spain, Junot, Massena himself, had not been able to conquer Portugal, and general Dupont had signed, in 1808, the disgraceful capitulation of Baylen. The hopes of his enemies brightened, and England once more succeeded in detaching Russia from his alliance.

The Russian Campaign.—To constrain that power to re-enter the system of the continental blockade, Napoleon undertook the rashest of expeditions; he crossed the Niemen on the 24th June 1812, at the head of 450,000 men. The expedition appeared at first to succeed. The Russians were everywhere beaten: at Witepsk, at Smolensk, at Valoutina, and the sanguinary victory of Moskowa delivered up to him Moscow, the second capital of the empire, which city the Russian governor caused to be set on fire on quitting it.

Unfortunately, Napoleon thought to secure peace; he waited for it, and lost precious time. When he perceived that it would be necessary, in order to enforce it, to undertake a second expedition against St. Petersburg, it was too late; the impossibility of wintering in the midst of a devastated country decided him to beat a retreat. It would have been successful, had it not been for an early winter and want of provisions. A great part of the army, all the horses, all the baggage, perished, or were abandoned, either amidst the snow, or in the disastrous passage of the Beresina. However, those of the soldiers who still remained in arms resisted every attempt to disperse them, and Napoleon, on reaching Paris, made immense preparations towards repairing his losses.

But it was all over with the prestige of his invincible power. All his allies turned one after another against him. Prussia, Sweden, then directed by a former French general, Bernadotte, gave the example; they united their arms with those of Russia, becoming victors without fighting. Germany entire, fermented by secret societies, held itself in readiness to rise. The liberal, but deceitful promises of the kings, hurried on the people. The brilliant victories of Lutzen, Bautzen, and Wurschen, won by Napoleon, with conscripts in the campaign of 1813, arrested for a while the defection of Austria; but that power forgot in the end her obligations, and the emperor, Francis, claimed the right of helping to dethrone his daughter and his grandson.

At Leipsic, 300,000 men appeared in arms against the

130,000 soldiers of Napoleon. After a gigantic struggle of three days, aided by the treason of the Saxons, who, in the middle of the action, went over to the allies, the latter forced the French to quit the field, and to fall back as far as the Rhine.

Campaign of 1814.—In the following year commenced that startling campaign for France, in which the military genius of the emperor performed wonders. But whilst he struggled heroically with a few thousands of brave men against allied Europe, the royalists raised their heads, and the liberals made an untimely opposition to his measures. To many, the invading enemy seemed a liberator. Vainly did Napoleon conquer at Champaubert, at Montmiral, and Montereau; still the allies advanced, favoured by numerous defections, especially in the south, whence arrived the Duke of Wellington and the English, whom Marshal Soult stopped for a moment by the battle of Toulouse. A bold movement against the rear of the enemy's armies might perhaps have saved France. Had Paris held out for a few days, the allies might have been cut off from their communications. But Paris, defended during twelve hours only, capitulated (30th March), and the Senate proclaimed the throne of Napoleon I. forfeited. He himself signed his abdication at Fontainebleau (11th April).

The First Restoration—The Hundred Days—Waterloo (1814-1815).—The French princes of the House of Bourbon had followed the hostile armies. The Czar, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria, embarrassed by the choice of the government which they should impose upon France, were decided by Talleyrand and the royalists, to recognise Louis XVIII., who dated his reign from the death of his nephew. The white banner replaced the flag of Austerlitz, and France re-entered within the limits which she had had before the Revolution. In compensation for so many sacrifices, Louis XVIII. granted a Constitutional Charter, which created two chambers in which the great interests of the country should be discussed. The emigrants, returned with the princes, were irritated at

these concessions made to the new ideas. The avidity of some, the superannuated pretensions of others, and the excesses of all, excited a discontent which was re-echoed as far as the Isle of Elba, to which Napoleon had been relegated. He thought that he could profit by it to repair his late disasters, and on the 1st March 1815 he landed with 800 men on the shores of Provence. All the troops sent against him passed over to his side; and, without having burnt a single cartridge, he re-entered Paris, whence the Bourbons had fled for the second time. But the coalesced princes had not yet disbanded their troops. They had met together at the congress of Vienna, and were occupied with regulating the affairs of Europe. They launched afresh 800,000 men against France, and placed Bonaparte under the ban of the nations.

The emperor, however, had tried to rally round him the liberals, by proclaiming the additional act to the constitutions of the empire, which consecrated the greater part of the principles of the charter. As soon as he had restored order in the interior, he hastened to intercept Wellington and Blucher, beat the Prussians at Ligny (16th June 1815), and, during half a day, Marshal Ney had a severe struggle with the English, in which neither side gained a clear superiority. In this action at Quatre Bras, the Duke of Brunswick was killed—the son of that duke who had commanded the Prussian army at the commencement of the Revolution. On the 18th, the disaster of Waterloo terminated for ever Napoleon's splendid career. He had issued his orders, and viewed the battle from a convenient distance; and an officer who stood near him affirmed that "his astonishment at the resistance of the British was extreme; his agitation became violent; he took snuff by handfuls at the repulse of each charge." At last, he took the officer by the arm, saying, "The affair is over—we have lost the day—let us be off!" In this heartless manner, and thinking only of himself, Napoleon abandoned an army which was wholly devoted to him. He fled to Paris, where he arrived on the 20th, and abdicated again in favour of his son (22nd).

On the 29th, he set out for Rochefort, in hope of escaping to America; but finding that it was impossible to baffle the vigilance of the English cruisers, he surrendered himself to Captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*. When the allies were informed of this event, they decided that he should be sent as a prisoner to the island of St. Helena, in the Southern Atlantic. In this little island, the illustrious exile died on the 5th of May 1821.

The Second Restoration—(22nd June 1815-26th July 1830).—Louis XVIII. was restored to his throne without opposition; abandoning to the allies an indemnity of 800 millions (francs), and some territory on the frontiers of the Netherlands, of Germany, and of Savoy. It was also provided that an allied army of 150,000 men should occupy, for the space of three or five years, a line of fortresses from Cambray to Alsace; the possession of which would enable them, in case of need, to march upon Paris without opposition. This army was to be maintained wholly at the expense of France. A few of Napoleon's most zealous partisans, of whom the chief were Marshal Ney and Colonel Labedoyere, suffered the penalties of treason; but the greater part of the delinquents escaped with impunity. Marshal Brune, however, and Generals Ramel and Lagarde were assassinated, and a sanguinary reaction assailed throughout the south the men devoted to the imperial regime, and even royalists who were thought to be not sufficiently ardent. A law of the 4th Dec. 1815, instituted for three years provost-marshall courts, which soon acquired a sinister renown. The restored monarchy had its massacres, its terror, which was called *the White Terror*.

The year 1818 saw at length the occupation of French territory by armed foreigners cease. The Holy Alliance was willing to withdraw its soldiers before the time fixed by the treaties.

Assassination of the Duke de Berri.—Up to 1819 the progress of the liberals was slow but sure, and they were on the point of securing the majority, when the king, thinking that he had gone too far in that direction,

drew towards the opposite party. That system of see-saw, as it was termed, could satisfy no one. The assassination of the Duke de Berri destroyed the equilibrium to the profit of the royalists. On the 13th Feb. 1820, the duke was at the opera; about ten o'clock at night, as he was conducting the duchess to her carriage, and at the moment he bade her adieu, a wretch, named Louvel, stabbed him mortally. Even on the scaffold the assassin persisted in declaring that he had no accomplices. But liberal ideas were made responsible for this crime, and the new ministry which was then formed launched the government upon the fatal course which led to its wreck in 1830.

Alliance of the Altar and the Throne.—Individual liberty was suspended, censorship of the press established, and the *double vote* instituted, by which political influence passed into the hands of the great proprietors, who voted twice in the election for the arrondissement as well as that of the department. The birth of the Duke of Bordeaux, the posthumous son of the Duke de Berri (29th Sept. 1820), and the death of Napoleon (5th May 1821), increased the joy and hopes of the ultra-royalists. The re-establishment of the royal authority in its ancient prerogatives was then loudly talked of, as well as the restoring to the clergy its political influence. The Jesuits returned to France, and other religious societies undertook to convert the country to those ideas of a bygone regime.

Secret Societies.—The liberals protested, as oppressed persons are wont to do, by conspiracies. At the *Congregation* formed by the ultra-royalists, and which numbered 50,000 affiliated members, they opposed the *Charbonnerie*, which was recruited more especially in the schools, the bar, and the army. Carbonarism extended its ramifications throughout France, in Germany, Italy, and Spain. It essayed several insurrections with the armed hand. In 1820, Captain Nantil, later on General Berton, Colonel Caron, Captain Vallé, and four sub-officers of La Rochelle were condemned and executed, except Nantil, who escaped by flight,

The Spanish Expedition.—After having terrified the liberals at home by laws and punishments, the ministry despatched an army into Spain, whose mission there was to stifle the liberal and revolutionary spirit, as the Holy Alliance had just stifled it in Germany, Naples, and Piedmont. That expedition, commanded by the Duke of Angoulême, aimed also at restoring to Ferdinand VII. absolute authority over his subjects, who desired to constrain him to give them a constitution. The French army, acting in the name of the Holy Alliance, met in congress at Verona (1822), and entered Spain on the 7th April 1823. It had few occasions for fighting, and only met with serious resistance at Cadiz, to which it laid siege. On the 31st August the French took, after a brilliant assault, the strong position of the Trocadero, and that success determined the surrender of the city. Re-established by French arms, Ferdinand VII. turned a deaf ear to sound advice, and made the yoke weigh only the heavier on his subjects.

Charles X.—The death of Louis XVIII. (16th Sept. 1824), a king chiefly remarkable for his prudence and moderation, his sound and good understanding, appeared to assure the triumph of the ultra-royalists by causing the crown to pass to his brother, Charles X., who, as the Count d'Artois, in 1789, had given the signal for emigration. The new king fancied himself called upon to revive in France the ancient monarchy. In the very outset of his reign, he made a demand from the chambers by M. de Villèle of an indemnity of a milliard for the emigrants, the re-establishment of the convents for women, that of birthright, and a more severe law against offences committed in churches. The deputies granted everything; the only resistance was in the chamber of the Peers, who by that opposition gained a few days popularity.

The conduct of the ministry had irritated the population of all the large cities. Paris especially was hostile to it. At a review of the national guard by the king in the month of April 1827, the cry of "Down with the ministers!" was raised in the ranks. That same evening the national

guard was disbanded. It was an error, for royalty, by thoroughly alienating the middle classes, found itself with its sole force in face of an impending revolution. The Villèle ministry survived eight months longer; but the general elections, which it imprudently provoked, sent to the chamber a liberal majority before which it fell.

Battle of Navarino.—All parties manifested their sympathy for a people who heroically defended their independence, like the Greeks. That nation, so celebrated in antiquity, had just cast off the Turkish yoke, but it was on the point of succumbing, when England, France, and Russia united to save it (5th July 1827). The three allied fleets destroyed at Navarino the Turkish navy (20th Sept. 1827). France further sent into the Morea a *corps d'armée*, under General Maison, who retook in a short time all the towns occupied by the Turks. Greece was delivered.

On the 4th January 1828, a new cabinet was formed, it bore the name of the most influential minister, M. de Martignac, and existed for six months, until 8th Aug. 1829. Its intentions were honest and liberal, and its acts generally approved. Unfortunately, Charles X., always swayed by the fatal counsels of the *Congregation*, supported his minister without liking him, and only accepted the decrees submitted for his signature unwillingly. He thought himself strong enough to cast a defiance in the face of France, and, dismissing his liberal ministry, he appointed a new one, which had for its head Prince Jules de Polignac, a man whose very name was obnoxious to the people, from the recollections which it recalled of the influence supposed to have been exercised by his family over the mind of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette. This choice was a declaration of war on the part of royalty against the country; and a crisis became inevitable. During ten months, the opposition press repeatedly told the government that it would end by forcing on a *coup d'état*, and the deputies declared in their answer to the king's speech, that the ministry did not possess the confidence of the country. The chamber

was dissolved, but the 221 signatories of the address were re-elected, and royalty vanquished in the elections determined on itself making a revolution.

The Taking of Algiers.—The conquest of Algiers, undertaken to avenge an affront given to the French Consul, appeared to furnish a favourable occasion. An army of 37,000 men, commanded by the Count de Bourmont, embarked at Toulon and landed, the 14th June 1830, on the African coast. The Algerines were beaten and dispersed amongst the mountains. On the 14th July, the French captured the fort called the *Château de l'Empereur*, which dominates Algiers, and the fall of which brought about that of the city. The treasure amassed by the Dey's payed the cost of the expedition, which planted the French flag upon the soil of Africa, where it has ever since waved.

The Revolution of 1830.—On the 26th of the same month appeared the famous ordinances which suppressed liberty of the press and created a new system of election. Paris responded to that provocation by the three memorable days of the 27th, 28th, and 29th of July 1830. Notwithstanding the bravery of the royal guard, Charles X. was overcome and compelled to quit the kingdom (29th July-16th Aug. 1830). Six thousand victims had fallen dead or wounded. At the beginning of August the Chamber of Deputies, without mandate from the country, but with its assent, raised to the throne the head of the younger branch of the Bourbons, the Duke of Orleans, who took the name of Louis Philippe I.

France hailed with unanimous acclamation that separation from the men and the affront of 1815. In resuming the tricolour, she seemed to retake also possession of herself, with all her glories and all her liberties.

THE GOVERNMENT OF JULY—Aug. 9, 1830-Feb. 24, 1848.

King Louis Philippe.—La Fayette had said on presenting the Duke of Orleans to the people, at the Hotel-de-ville. "Here is the best of republics." Many had

thought like La Fayette. The private virtues of the prince, his fine family, his liberal antecedents, the recollections carefully revived of Jemmapes, and of Valmy, his citizen-like habits, the popular education given to his sons in the public schools, all encouraged sanguine hopes.

The Duke of Orleans, head of the younger branch of the Bourbons, was proclaimed king on the 9th August, after having sworn to observe the revised charter. The alterations were of slight importance. Political rights remained conferred on wealth rather than on intelligence, and the mass of the nation was excluded from them. But, in 1814, Louis XVIII. had given a charter granted by his good pleasure; in 1830, Louis Philippe accepted one which was imposed by the Chamber of Deputies. In that fact was all the revolution.

A marked characteristic of this reign consists in the almost perpetual changes of ministry during its first ten years. To mention only a few: M. Lafitte, the banker, was made President of the Council, or prime minister, 3rd Nov. 1830; M. Casimir Périer was appointed in 1831, but died in 1832, and was succeeded by Marshal Soult; Count Molé was placed at the head of a new ministry in 1836; M. Thiers became first minister, 1st March 1840, but resigned in October; and a new cabinet was then formed under Marshal Soult and M. Guizot.

At the noise of the downfall of the throne, which crumbled to pieces in Paris on the 29th July 1830, some other thrones were shaken, and all unpopular powers compromised. In Switzerland, the aristocratic governments fell; in Germany, liberal innovations were introduced. Italy was simmering; Spain was preparing a revolution; Belgium separated from Holland; England herself, stirred by a deep and widely-spread agitation, tore from the Tories the Reform Bill. Peace had proved more profitable than war to liberty.

But ought France to constitute herself the champion of every European insurrection, at the risk of provoking a general war and a terrible effusion of blood? The new

King was not of that opinion. Belgium, having separated from Holland, offered herself to France; she was rejected in order not to excite the jealousy of England. The Spanish refugees desired to attempt a revolution in their native country; they were arrested on the frontier to avoid the violation of an international law, even in face of a prince somewhat unfriendly. Italy, in the chains of Austria, was struggling to break her fetters. M. Lafitte was anxious to aid her. The king refused to follow him so far, and summoned Casimir Périer to the presidency of the Council.

Ministry of Casimir Périer—(1831-1832).—The new ministry invested his policy of the *juste milieu* with some grandeur, by the energy and boldness which he brought to the service of moderate measures. He declared plainly two things; that he desired lawful order, and consequently that he would combat to the uttermost republicans and legitimists alike; that he would not involve France in a universal war, and consequently he would make for the world's peace every sacrifice compatible with the country's honour. This language seemed lofty, but his acts sustained it.

Occupation of Ancona.—Don Miguel, in Portugal, had outrageously treated two Frenchmen. A fleet forced the passage of the Tagus, reputed impassable, and anchored close to the quays of Lisbon. The Portuguese ministers humbled themselves, and a legitimate reparation was accorded. The Dutch had invaded Belgium; 50,000 French were marched thither promptly, and the flag of the Netherlands was struck. The Austrians, having once quitted the Papal States, had re-entered them; Casimir Périer, determined to make the principle of non-intervention respected, sent a flotilla into the Adriatic, and the French troops seized upon Ancona. The appearance of the tricolour in the centre of Italy was almost a declaration of war against Austria. The latter did not pick up the glove, but withdrew her troops.

Insurrection at Lyons.—At home, the President of the Council followed with the same energy the line which

he had marked out for himself. The legitimists were agitating the departments of the west; flying columns stifled the revolt there. The Lyons' workmen, excited by insufferable misery, and also by legitimist and republican leaders, had risen, inscribing on their banner the sad and sinister motto: "To live by working or die by fighting." After a fearful struggle in the city itself, they were disarmed, and order seemed established on the surface. Grenoble, in its turn, was stained with blood. At Paris also conspiracies were formed, known as *the Towers of Notre Dame* and *the Rue des Prouvaires*. Such was the ministry of Casimir Périer: an energetic struggle, in which his strong will did not recoil, for the cause of order, before any obstacle. Such a life had exhausted his strength, when the cholera carried him off on the 16th May 1832.

The Cholera (1832).—In the month of March this terrible scourge, which had made its appearance in England in the preceding autumn, visited Paris, and, as it is said, without having shown itself previously in any of the frontier towns. The deaths in Paris by this disease, between 26th March and 30th September, were reported to amount to from twenty to twenty-five thousand.

Insurrection of the 5th and 6th June—Ministry of Guizot, Thiers, and de Broglie.—Society was stirred to its lowest depths by the partisans of St. Simon and Fourier, who advocated another social order. These men did not play the part only of peaceful apostles, but the Lyonnese insurrection had shown in the *prolétaires* an army quite ready to apply their doctrines. The national guard energetically defended royalty, when, on the occasion of the funeral of General Lamarque, the republican party gave battle on the 5th and 6th June, behind the barricades of St. Mery. That check crushed for some time the republicans. A month afterwards (22nd July 1832), the death of the son of Napoleon, the Duke of Reichstadt, disembarrassed the Orleans dynasty of a formidable pretender, which, at the same epoch,

seemed to gain a support by the marriage of the Princess Louise with the King of the Belgians.

Arrest of the Duchess de Berri.—Another pretender also lost her cause. The Duchess de Berri, landing secretly on the shore of Provence, with the title of regent, had come to kindle civil war in the west in the name of her son Henry V. But there were no more Vendéans or Chouans there. New ideas had penetrated there as elsewhere, more than elsewhere even. A few refractory gentlemen, a few peasants, responded to the appeal. The country, swarming with troops, was promptly pacified, and the duchess, after having long wandered from farm to farm, entered Nantes disguised as a peasant-woman. This foolish prank showed the weakness of the legitimist party. To achieve its ruin, M. Thiers, then minister, caused an active search for the duchess to be made. On being discovered she was sent prisoner to Blaye, where she gave birth to a daughter, and was obliged to confess that she had been secretly married in Italy to a Count Palli, which rendered for the future any attempt of the same kind impossible.

Successes Abroad.—The capture of the citadel of Antwerp, which the Dutch refused to give up to the Belgians, terminated a critical situation, from which, at any moment, a general war might have broken out. The occupation of Arzew, of Mostaganem, and of Bougie, strengthened the establishment of the French in Algiers; and those expeditions on the banks of the Scheldt, and on the Mediterranean shores, threw some lustre on French arms.

In Portugal, Don Pedro succeeded in overthrowing Don Miguel, and giving, in the name of his daughter, Donna Maria, a constitutional charter. In Spain, Ferdinand VII. died, excluding from the throne, by the abolition of the Salique law, his brother Don Carlos; so that the Iberian Peninsula entirely escaped at the same time from the absolutist regime.

The year 1835 saw the ruin of the republican party as a militant faction. The insurrections of April at

Lyons and Paris, which occasioned the massacres of the Faubourg de Vaise and the Rue Transnonain, and the dramatic incidents of the trial of the republicans before the Court of Peers, led to the imprisonment or flight of almost all the chiefs.

During the whole course of these events, the position, both personal and political, of the king himself became more and more anxious every day. The many jealousies of which he was the subject, and the rooted animosity of the republicans, do not appear to have ever slept during his whole reign, and seven, if not more, direct attempts were made to assassinate him. At the review on the 28th July 1835, one Fieschi, a Corsican, a discharged convict and forger, directed an infernal machine against the king, the discharge from which struck down dead around Louis Philippe, Marshal Mortier, one of the heroes of the empire and formerly president of the council, a general, two colonels, an aged man, a woman, a young girl, several national guards, and forty others wounded. This terrible attempt frightened society, still excited by the recent civil war and the painful incidents of the April trials. The minister profited by the universal indignation to present the famous laws of September affecting the courts of assize, the jury, and the press. They were calculated to render criminal justice more severe and prompt; they interdicted all discussion upon the principle of government, and raised the caution-money of the journals from 48,000 francs to 100,000.

Foreign Policy.—Up to this moment, the cause of order had been energetically maintained at home; now that it was triumphant, M. Thiers, president of the council since 22nd Feb. 1836, was desirous of resuming abroad the policy of Casimir Périer. The king, whom every great movement terrified, consented willingly to the expedition against Constantine, because the cannon-shots fired in Africa, he said, were not heard in Europe; but he refused consent to any intervention in Spain; so that M. Thiers, rather than give way, quitted the ministry, and M. Molé replaced him, 6th Sept. 1836, as president of the council.

Struggle between the Court and the Parliament.—The commencement of the ministry of M. Molé was marked by unfortunate events. Marshal Clausel, left without sufficient means, failed in the expedition against Constantine. Prince Louis Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon, attempted to excite the garrison of Strasburg to revolt. Arrested, he was conducted beyond the frontier; his accomplices appeared before a jury, who absolved them, because the guilty leader was withdrawn from its jurisdiction. This verdict dissatisfied the Court, and the minister presented the famous law of disjunction, a blow aimed at the inviolable principle of equality in justice. The Chamber rejected it. It rejected also the demand of a dotation for the Duke de Nemours. But one act of the ministry was welcomed by unanimous applause—the amnesty promulgated the on 8th May 1837, for political offences.

Marriage of the Duke of Orleans—Taking of Constantine.—A few days after the amnesty, the union of the Duke of Orleans with the Princess Helena of Mecklenburg, a young woman of elevated mind, and who, in misfortune, displayed austere and touching virtues. The treaty of Tafna had just pacified the province of Oran, when at the other extremity of their Algerine possessions the French had at length planted their flag on the formidable walls of Constantine (1837). The nation was proud of this success, and the king, associating himself with that reawakened patriotism, displayed pictorially in the deserted galleries of Versailles all the military glories of France.

The year 1838 continued this prosperity. A long quarrel with Mexico necessitated the despatch of a squadron which bombarded the fort of Vera Cruz, St. Jean d'Ulloa, and forced it to capitulate. And lastly, the Duchess of Orleans gave birth to a son, heir-presumptive to the crown, to whom the king gave the name of the Count of Paris, an event which seemed to mark the culmination of the national prosperity.

Already, however, violent attacks upon the coalition

ministry of Guizot, Thiers, and Odilon Barrot, were preparing. The ministry, sharply pressed, wished (22nd Jan. 1839) to resign. The king refused to accept their resignations, and made an appeal to the country. He pronounced the dissolution of the Chamber. The ministry threw itself energetically into the electoral battle; but it was conquered and fell. Inextricable difficulties in the formation of a new ministry kept Paris during upwards of a month in suspense. The occasion seemed favourable for a *coup de main* to several republicans, who believed much more in the virtue of musket-shots than in the propagation of ideas. Their chiefs, the rash and gloomy Blanqui, a born conspirator, and Baroës, attempted a revolution. They failed even to make an insurrection (12th May).

This awakening of violent passions precipitated the ministerial crisis. On the same day a cabinet was constituted under the presidency of Marshal Soult. Not one of the heads of the coalition took part in it. Thus it could only be a kind of interim ministry. It did not last ten months (12th May 1839 to 1st March 1840). When Marshal Soult and his colleagues had been overthrown by a vote which they had provoked upon a new project of princely dotation, another ministry was formed under the presidency of M. Thiers.

Ten years of peace and of material well-being had developed new wants. As at the end of the restoration, the country was prosperous; but, as at that epoch also, it fermented. France was stifling in the circle traced around her by diplomacy.

The Treaty of London.—Grave events were preparing in the east. In 1839, a war had almost arisen out of a difference respecting the conduct to be pursued in the contest going on between Turkey and Egypt. Europe, and especially England, resolved to break that accord which, placing under the same hand Toulon, Algiers, Alexandria, Beyrouth, and the fleets of France, Egypt, and Turkey, assured to France the preponderance in the Mediterranean. On the 15th July, England, Russia, and

the two powers which followed in their wake, signed, without the participation of France, the treaty of London, which was to deprive the Pacha of Egypt of Syria.

Thus, therefore, France was again placed under the ban of Europe; the coalition was renewed against her. All the sacrifices accorded to the peace of the world, all the advances made to absolute monarchies had been useless. At these tidings, a shudder of anger agitated the whole country; the Court appeared to associate itself with this explosion of national feeling, and France laid hand on the hilt of her sword—but she did not draw it. The Levant fleet, which might have crushed that of England, returned to Toulon, and the bombardment of Beyrouth coupled with the fall of the Egyptian power in Syria, found mournful echoes in the hearts of Frenchmen.

Declining to make war under the disadvantageous conditions under which it presented itself, the minister desired at least to give to France a firm and dignified attitude. He caused the fortifications of Paris to be commenced, which should place a shield round the heart of France; he armed the strongholds and increased the army. This situation had its perils. The king became alarmed at it. He had at first followed his ministry; he abandoned it. M. Thiers gave place to M. Guizot (29th Oct. 1840).

M. Guizot, not caring much for the current of public opinion nor for the national feeling, hastened to extend his hand to England and the powers which had just wounded France to the quick. On the 13th July 1841, he signed a treaty which caused France to re-enter what was called the European concert, that is to say, which admitted her into that pentarchy of the five great powers which the treaties of 1815 had constituted under the name of the Holy Alliance. That event was equivalent to a treaty of peace.

Death of the Duke of Orleans.—On the 13th July 1842, a shocking accident saddened the whole country, without distinction of parties. The Duke of Orleans, an amiable prince most deservedly beloved, was thrown from

his carriage and killed. His death caused his rights to pass to his son, the Count of Paris; and a child of four years old found himself heir to the heaviest crown any head could wear. From that day, amongst the legitimists, hope sprung up; and the liberals and republicans expected everything, for the triumph of their ideas, from the inevitable weakness of a regency.

The Regency.—The chambers were convoked immediately. A law was presented to them which named beforehand the Duke de Nemours regent of his nephew. This prince had neither the brilliant reputation of the Duke of Orleans, nor the popularity possessed by the Prince de Joinville for his services before St. Jean d' Ulloa, Mogador, and Tangier, nor the rising renown which the capture of the smala of Abd-el-Kader gave to the Duke d' Aumale. The law passed, but without obtaining the public assent.

Marriage of the Duke de Montpensier.—In Morocco, as at Taiti, the French had found the English against them. Thus the English alliance, anxiously sought after, had only caused them embarrassment. But it secured, it was said, the peace of the world. A marriage, however, was very nearly breaking it, that of the Duke de Montpensier with the sister of the Queen of Spain. If there were only, in the rapid conclusion of that marriage, an idea of dynastic interest, it was an imprudence; if there existed no other means of getting rid of an English candidate, a prince of Coburg, the ministry was in the right; for France had need of having Spain for a friend. Unfortunately, the ministry grew alarmed at the isolation in which France was about to find herself. Repulsed by England, she drew near to Austria, and in order to gain her sacrificed Italy and Switzerland.

The Political Banquets.—The elections of 1846 gave to the ministry a majority. The opposition, directed by Thiers and Odilon Barrot, caused the ministry to demur in the fulfilment of its promises. It demanded the readjustment of certain taxes, electoral and parliamentary reform. The ministry refused everything, and rallied the opposition upon its useless efforts to arouse the

country from its political torpor. To this defiance, the opposition replied by sixty banquets given in the most important towns. At them the wrongs of the country were exposed: abroad, the abasement of France, which no longer had its necessary influence in Europe; at home, the refusal of the most legitimate reforms, and the equivocal methods of government, corruption.

The opposition was popular; Paris entirely belonged to it. Almost all the press was with the opposition. A journal founded by the conservatives could not exist. In the bosom even of that party disaffection had shown itself. Several influential members of the majority passed over to the opposition. The Prince de Joinville evinced a marked disapprobation, and exiled himself to Algiers. Even in the ministry itself, some members repudiated that ultra-conservative policy. But the leading minister began the strife by making the king pronounce, at the opening of the session of 1848, a speech in which he declared that one hundred deputies were enemies of the throne.

Irritating debates kept during six weeks public opinion in emotion. Exterior events, the victory of liberal Switzerland, the movements of Italy, which strove to escape from the grasp of Austria, reacted upon France. The opposition tried a final manifestation, the banquet of the 12th arrondissement. The hopes of the long-discouraged republicans revived; they let matters take their course, but held themselves ready. "If the ministry," said one of their chiefs on the 20th February, "authorises the banquet, it will fall; if it forbids it, there will be a revolution."

Revolution of the 23th and 24th February 1848.— The ministry prohibited the banquet, but immense crowds assembled; and here and there a few conflicts took place. The national guard, tardily called out, remained inactive. The army, not finding the national guard willing to co-operate with it, thought that it was 1830 begun again; it would not fire, and allowed the reform to go on. The revolution followed.

On the evening of the 23d February the opposition had gained its cause; M. Guizot resigned, and a liberal ministry, with M. Thiers at its head, was named. But those who had so well begun the movement were unprepared to arrest it just at the point at which the bulk of the community expected. Men of attack rather than of resistance, of criticism rather than of action, they saw in a few hours the course of the insurrection escape them and pass over to a party weak in numbers, but who had at that moment the great advantage over the opposition of reckoning in its service men full of audacity, emerited conspirators or veterans of the barricades.

The fighting men of the party mixed with the crowd which blocked up the boulevards, already all illuminated and rejoicing. A pistol shot having been fired at the post which was on guard at the Foreign Office, the soldiers replied sharply by a murderous discharge. Fifty victims amongst the inoffensive bystanders fell. At the sight of their bodies carried in procession through the principal streets in open waggons lighted by torches, the anger of the populace burst forth: "Our brothers are assassinated, vengeance!" The people of the faubourgs rushed to arms. In the night Paris bristled with barricades, whilst the resistance remained uncertain, paralysed. Next day, the insurrection became master of almost all the *mairies*, the five barracks, and then advanced to the Tuilleries. At noon, the king abdicated whilst fighting was still going on at the Palais Royal, and, protected by a few regiments, escaped without being pursued or molested. There remained with the Duke de Nemours, an unpopular prince, and the Duke de Montpensier, too young yet to be known, a woman and a child, the Duchess of Orleans and the Count of Paris. The duchess was respected for her virtues and elevation of mind; but a foreigner and isolated, she was powerless. Whilst the insurgents were attacking the Tuilleries, the duchess with her sons went to the chamber, in full persuasion that the count would be proclaimed king, and that she herself would be regent, *but an armed and infuriate mob rushed suddenly in and*

proclaimed a provisional government, composed of M. M. Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Lamartine, Crémieux, Ledru-Rollin, and Garnier Pages.



PALAIS ROYAL.

THE REPUBLIC OF 1848.

On the evening of the 24th Feb., the provisional government proclaimed the Republic. On the 26th it was proclaimed from the steps of the Hotel de Ville. The 27th was kept as a high festival, and the Republic was again solemnly proclaimed at the foot of the column of the Bastille, to commemorate the revolution of July 1830. On the 4th March, a national assembly was summoned, to be elected by universal suffrage throughout France. An immense crowd collected before the Hotel de Ville, and demanded that the red flag should become the symbol of the new power. It was a sinister presage. Lamartine energetically repulsed "that flag, which had only made the round of the Champ-de-Mars, trailed in blood, whilst the tricolour had made the tour of the world, bearing everywhere the name and glory of the country." The

Assembly opened on the 4th May, but did nothing to restore tranquillity to the disquieted metropolis. On the 15th, an immense concourse of Clubbists forced its way into the Assembly, and afterwards proclaimed another provisional government from the Hotel de Ville. The chiefs of this party were arrested and sent to Vincennes. On the 12th June, Prince Louis Napoleon, son of the ex-King of Holland, was elected into the Assembly as representative of the department of the Seine. On the notification of his election, M. Lamartine moved a decree for his banishment; but, after some debate, he was admitted by a great majority to take his seat. On the 22nd and three following days, barricades were suddenly raised with an astonishing rapidity in the faubourgs, and soon occupied one-half of Paris. General Cavaignac, minister of war since the 18th May, concentrated his forces between the National Assembly and the Hotel de Ville. The combat began, and lasted four days with great carnage, costing the lives of 5000 on both sides. The Archbishop of Paris was killed whilst imploring peace from the multitude. Cavaignac was made dictator, and the city placed under martial law. The victory remained with the National Assembly and General Cavaignac; 12,000 prisoners made during the insurrection, or arrested after the combat, were transported to Africa.

The Republic came out of this dreadful struggle singularly weakened. There were two candidates for its presidency, General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Bonaparte, who, twice following, had been elected representative by three, then by five departments. General Cavaignac received 1,448,107 votes against 5,434,226 given to the prince (10th Dec.); Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin were also candidates.

Presidency of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.—Charles Louis Napoleon, born at the Tuileries, 20th Aug. 1808, third son of Hortense Beauharnais and Louis Bonaparte, *king of Holland*, had taken part in Italy, so early as 1831, in the insurrectional movement of the Romagna against

the pope. On two occasions, in 1836 and in 1840, he had tried unsuccessfully at Strasburg and at Boulogne, to reawaken sympathy for the name of Napoleon and the glory of the Empire. After the last attempt, he was condemned by the Court of Peers, and imprisoned in the Castle of Ham, whence he escaped in 1846. The revolution of February revived his hopes. An active propaganda obtained him numerous suffrages; the faults of the republicans and the powerful magic of his name did the rest. His conduct after his election as president of the Republic was able and intrepid, but arbitrary. Order was restored, and labour regained its activity. Therefore the president was well received in a progress through the provinces of the East and South. He left Strasburg amid shouts of *Vive le President!* and entered Bordeaux amid those of *Vive l'Empereur!* which on the 16th Oct. Paris itself repeated. Hurried along by the movement which had seized it, since the first vote in favour of Napoleon in 1848, the majority of the nation believed it could only find repose and order in the bosom of an hereditary monarchy, and the satisfaction of its pride in the face of the foreigner only in the Napoleon dynasty. The re-establishment of the Empire closely followed.

THE SECOND EMPIRE—(1852-1870).

Re-establishment of the Empire—(1852).—A *senatus-consulte*, deliberated in the first assembly of the state, proposed to the nation the re-establishment of the imperial dignity in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, with inheritance to his direct descendants, legitimate or adoptive; and the popular comitia adopted that proposition on the 21st and 22nd November, by 8,157,752 affirmative votes against 254,501 negative. The Empire was therefore solemnly proclaimed on the 2nd Dec. 1852.

The New emperor took the name of Napoleon III. Of his marriage with Mdlle. Eugénie de Montijo, Countess de Teba, whom he chose irrespective of all political calculations to raise to the throne, was born an imperial prince (16th March 1856). The empire, established on the

wide base of universal suffrage, had an immense popularity. The emperor did not propose to enjoy a sluggish royalty. He proposed to himself two objects: at home, to give satisfaction to the general wants of the country, as well as to popular interests; abroad, to raise the political position of France, which still felt the blows of the great reverses of 1815.



GRAND STAIRCASE OF THE LOUVRE.

The government gave to the public works an activity which, in ten years, almost renewed the largest cities, but also over-stimulated speculation so far as to bring about lamentable disasters. Paris was, as it were, rebuilt upon a new and grandiose plan by the prefect of the Seine, M. Haussmann; Lyons and Marseilles followed that example, which decided the municipalities of the smaller towns to let into their old quarters air, light, and health. At Paris, the Louvre, the restoration of which had for so long been suspended, was finished; new boulevards were pierced, whole quarters subjected to sanitary improvements, others created, schools, *mairies* and churches built in each arrondissement; in the centre, the *Halles* (markets), reconstructed in an original style,

gardens bloomed everywhere, promenades planted with rare trees or precious flowers, and the magnificence of the woods of Boulogne and Vincennes increased. At Marseilles a mountain was cut through in order to make a new town, and two ports constructed wherein to harbour the innumerable vessels which commerce brings to the queen of the Mediterranean.

Foreign Policy—Wars.—Napoleon III., before being crowned, had said, "*L'Empire, c'est la paix;*" a happy phrase if it had proved applicable; but there were under this reign wars which the nation accepted as necessities of its old traditions of national policy and military honour. There were some, unfortunately, also of which it disapproved, and the second empire has fallen through having undertaken one which was inevitable, but which was neither prepared for, nor undertaken at a propitious moment.

The Crimean War—Treaty of Paris (1854-1856).—Since the treaties of 1815, Russia exercised a threatening preponderance over Europe. The Czar Nicholas had become the personification of a formidable system of repression and conquest. He had never pardoned the royalty of July for having emerged from an insurrection; in Germany, he had supported the sovereigns in their resistance to the wishes of the people. He had done everything to denationalise Poland, of which the treaties of 1815 recognised his possession, on the condition that he should secure to it a constitutional government. Astonished for an instant by the revolution of 1848, the Czar had speedily resumed his ambition. After having saved Austria by crushing the Hungarians revolted against her, he had thought that the presence of a Napoleon on the throne of France guaranteed to Russia the alliance of the English, and he had considered the moment arrived for seizing the eternal object of Muscovite covetousness—Constantinople. On every occasion he affected a haughty protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Turkish empire; he ended by trying to establish a secret understanding with England for the partition of the spoils.

of *the sick man* (the Sultan). In 1853, he caused the Danubian Principalities to be occupied, and equipped at Sebastopol a fleet which seemed formidable. The Emperor Napoleon gave the first signal of resistance by boldly sending the French fleet from the Mediterranean to Salamis, to keep it within reach of Constantinople and the Black Sea. He dragged England, at first hesitating, into his alliance, and secured the neutrality of Austria and Prussia. The somewhat unchivalrous attack and destruction by the Russians of a Turkish fleet at Sinope was the beginning of hostilities. The Anglo-French fleet entered the Black Sea, whilst an allied army despatched from the ports of Great Britain and those of France was collected under the walls of Constantinople. On the 14th Sept. 1854, the allied army, 70,000 strong, landed on the shores of the Crimea, and the victory of the Alma, gained by Marshal St. Arnaud and Lord Raglan, was the prelude to the commencement of the siege of Sebastopol, a formidable fortress, which it was necessary to annihilate to preserve Constantinople from the risk of a *coup de main*.

This siege, one of the most terrible in the annals of modern history, lasted nearly a year. At length, on the 8th Sept. 1855, after constant and wonderful efforts, French rush and English solidity had their reward; the Malakoff redoubt was carried and the town taken. A few months before, the Emperor Nicholas died, having foreseen the ruin of his vast designs.

The Czar Alexander II., successor to Nicholas, demanding peace, it was concluded at Paris (30th March 1856). That peace neutralised the Black Sea, interdicted consequently Russia from having a war fleet there, took from her some portions of Bessarabia, and rendered free, as far as its mouth, the navigation of the Danube. Thus Russia fell back, the rights of nations made a step in advance, France recovered the plenitude of her international action and all the moral influence she has the right of exercising in the affairs of Europe. The visits of the Queen of England, the King of Portugal, of King Victor Emmanuel,

and other sovereigns to Napoleon III., were a significant evidence of the greatness which France had just regained.

The War in Italy—Peace of Villafranca and Treaty of Zurich (1858-1859).—After Russia, it was Austria that had been the most opposed to modern ideas. As the former weighed upon Turkey, the latter weighed upon Italy. Austria had played during the Crimean war an equivocal part, whilst the kingdom of Sardinia, the sole independent and constitutional state in Italy, did not fear to join its young army to the Anglo-French forces. That circumstance had made France the national protector of Piedmont, and consequently of Italy, of which this little kingdom was, as it were, the last citadel. The marriage of Prince Napoleon, cousin of the Emperor, with the Princess Clotilde, daughter of King Victor Emmanuel, drew them closer together. Thus, when the Emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph, in spite of the efforts of European diplomacy, crossed the Ticino, as the Emperor Nicholas had passed the Pruth, France found herself face to face with the new aggressor and on the side of the oppressed.

The Emperor Napoleon resumed by that war the secular policy of France, which consists in not suffering the prepotency of Austria or of Germany in Italy, that is to say, on the south-east frontier of France. If he had, as President of the Republic, contributed to the return of the pope to Rome, it was not to perpetuate in the Peninsula the Austrian oppression and the general slavery. The appearance of a French army, divided into five corps commanded by distinguished generals, upon that soil on which French arms, during three centuries, had left so many glorious traces, announced a new era in European policy. Italy, seeing that the moment had come for claiming her independence, arose at the call of France. Europe attentive and stirred, England benevolent, Russia and Prussia astonished, were observant. Austria and France remained alone in presence of each other. The war lasted scarcely two months.

After the brilliant affair of Montebello, which baffled

a surprise attempted by the Austrians, the Franco-Piedmontese army concentrated itself round Alexandria ; then, by a bold and skilful movement, turned the right of the Austrians, which had already crossed the Ticino, and compelled them to repass that river. Taken between the divisions of General MacMahon and the guard at Magenta, the Austrians lost 7000 killed or wounded, and 8000 prisoners (4th June). Two days after, the French entered Milan.

The enemy, astonished at a shock so rude, abandoned his first line of defence, in which he had however accumulated, long beforehand, powerful means of action and resistance. He retired upon the Adda, after having vainly made a momentary stand at a spot already famous — Marignan, and upon the Mincio, behind the celebrated plains of Castiglione, between the two fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua. Then he rested against, as at an inexpugnable position, the great quadrilateral of Verona. There the Emperor of Austria, with a new general and considerable reinforcements, had come to await the French. The Austrians had for a long time studied this field of battle ; they were 160,000 strong upon the heights, leaning on the village and tower of Solferino, ready to sweep down upon the plain. Napoleon III. had scarcely 140,000 men in hand, and was obliged to fight upon a line of five leagues in extent. Whilst the right wing struggled against the enemy in the plain, to avoid being turned, and King Victor Emmanuel with his Piedmontese resisted bravely on the left, the centre made a vigorous attack, and after a heroic struggle, carried successively Mont Fenile, Mont des Cyprès, and lastly the village of Solferino. The enemy's line was broken and his reserves reached, before they could engage, by the balls of the new rifled cannon. Thereupon ensued a frightful pell-mell ; but a dreadful storm, accompanied by hail and a torrent-like rain, stopped the victors and enabled the Austrians to recross the Mincio, leaving 25,000 behind them. The Emperor Napoleon took up his quarters that evening in the same chamber

which had been occupied in the morning by Francis Joseph (24th June).

For a long time, France, England, and Spain, had injuries to avenge and claims to urge against the anarchial government of Mexico. At the commencement of 1862, the three powers had an understanding to act in common, as France had acted in China with the English, and in Cochin China with the Spaniards. The expedition was already in course of execution, when the cabinets of London and Madrid, in consequence of misunderstandings, renounced the enterprise. France, left alone, persisted in avenging the common injuries. A check having engaged the honour of the flag, the error was committed of declaring that France would not treat with the President Juarez, which committed it to import into that country a foreign government, or to conquer those immense solitudes. It was necessary to send, instead of 6000 men at first despatched, as many as 35,000 soldiers. Puebla made a heroic resistance; but the key of Mexico was there, and the army took it (18th May 1863). A few days after (10th June), it entered Mexico, and the populace proclaimed emperor, upon the indications of France, an Austrian prince, the Archduke Maximilian. After the departure of the troops in 1867, the unfortunate prince was taken and shot by the republicans. That imprudent and badly conceived expedition proved a serious check to French policy and French finances.

In these days a dictatorship can only be temporary. Napoleon III. knew it well, and, at the same moment that he took possession of the throne, he had promised that liberty should one day crown the new political edifice. After Solferino, he meditated bringing it back to French institutions, to which it was recalled by the increasing confidence and prosperity of the country.

In the midst of this prosperity and these hopes, a storm suddenly arose under which the Empire foundered, and France was precipitated into an abyss of grief and misery.

The War against Prussia (July 1870-Feb. 1871).—Prussia, which since Frederick the Great had dreamed of

reconstituting the German Empire, knew well that she could not realise that object, so threatening to Europe, until after the military humiliation of France, and she prepared the means for it with an untiring perseverance. She stimulated through the means of history, poetry, and science, German patriotism against those whom she called in her newspapers "the hereditary enemy." She armed all her male population from twenty to sixty; she required from her officers the most complete instruction, from her troops the most severe discipline; and by an organization which left no portion of the national forces inactive, by a foresight which utilised all the resources of industry and science, she constituted, in the centre of Europe, the most formidable machinery of war that the world has yet seen—1,500,000 men trained and armed. And that dreadful machinery she confided to be put in action, to men whom few scruples of legality, justice, or honour, could stop, since they said openly: "*Force overcomes right*" (*La force prime le droit*).

France saw nothing or desired to see nothing in those immense preparations which were being completed even on her own territory, by the minute and secret study of every means of action or of resistance. Ideas of peace and economy predominated in the legislative body; a blind confidence in France's military superiority, an equal distrust against the armament of the whole country, prevented the proportioning of the forces of France to the greatness of the struggle which was approaching; and, by the incapacity of officials, and by the insufficiency of the administrations, those which existed were badly handled.

As a finishing stroke of dexterity, Prussia had the art of bringing about a declaration of war which she ardently desired, and for which she had been preparing for some fifteen years.

To 700,000 soldiers moved up in fifteen days to the frontier, and concentrated in a small space, from Treves to Landau, the French opposed 240,000 men scattered over a line of one hundred leagues. They were over.

whelmed at Wissembourg, at Reichsoffen, and at Forbach, by an enemy three or four times superior in numbers, fighting at a distance, under cover of the woods, and covered by an innumerable artillery, the range of which was greater than that of the French guns (4th and 6th August). The emperor capitulated at Sedan (2nd Sep.), and Marshal Bazaine at Metz (26th Oct.). Strasburg,



STRASBURG.

where nothing was in readiness for a siege, succumbed after a bombardment which burned the library, the museum, and threatened to demolish the cathedral. At Paris, on the 4th September, an insurrection had invaded the Chamber, dispersed the deputies, constituted a government called the National Defence, and fifteen days after, the invested capital fought its first battle, that of Chatillon. In detaining before its walls, during more than four months (18th Sept.-27th Jan.), the principal Prussian forces, it gave to France time to raise herself up. All the regular army, save four African

regiments, was prisoner in Germany; it was necessary to improvise soldiers, cannons, rifles, and intendance. Wonders were achieved. But war has become too scientific for youths just drawn from their villages to make head, in spite of their courage, against disciplined and victorious soldiers. The provincial armies were crushed; and when after 131 days of siege, after a month's bombardment, famine forced Paris to lower the drawbridges of her forts, nothing more remained but to submit to the law of the conqueror.

For the first time during four centuries, France retrograded. In 1815, she had at least very nearly preserved the frontiers which her old monarchy had given her; by the treaty of the 1st March 1871, a wound was inflicted upon her which will ever bleed, by tearing away the two provinces, Alsace and a portion of Lorraine, which had never been connected to the German Empire save by the most feeble ties. Strasburg had voluntarily given itself to Louis XIV. in 1681, and Metz to Henry II. in 1552.

After having treated a population of 1,600,000 souls like a flock of sheep to be disposed of, it was hoped to exhaust France for a long period by demanding an indemnity of five milliards.

It appeared as though so many disasters must have exhausted the vials of wrath poured out upon France. It only remained to add to those the disgrace of Civil War; to exhibit to all the world the national glories overthrown by French hands, worthy citizens assassinated, the palaces in flames, Paris in its entirety threatened with destruction under the eyes of the Prussians, masters still of nineteen departments, and who, from the summits of the forts on the right bank of the Seine, joyously watched the conflagration. This was the work of the *Commune* and the *Internationale*, the one concealing the other. A hideous mixture of ignorance and perversity, of covetousness and hatred, of brutal passions and over-excited desires, whence neither a new idea nor a generous sentiment came forth, and which broke out into a formidable insurrection, into the heart of

which rushed, like wolves to their prey, the outcasts of every country.

Meanwhile, the National Assembly reunited at Bordeaux, and afterwards at Versailles, had refused to decree a new constitution, or to make an appeal to the people, before the liberation of the territory. Continuing the government *de facto* which it had found established, the Assembly had, on the 18th February 1871, indicated as head of the executive power, M. Thiers, who later (31st Aug.), received the title of President of the Republic.

The French army, reconstituted at Versailles, was forced to make a second siege of Paris (2nd April-21st May), storm the ramparts, and sustain a murderous combat in the streets for seven days. As they retreated, the communards set fire, by means of petroleum, to public edifices and private houses; to the Tuilleries, the Hôtel de Ville, the palace of the Legion of Honour, of the Council of State, the library of the Louvre and its 80,000 volumes, and the Ministry of Finance, wherein they thought to destroy the titles of the national wealth. Twenty other edifices and 200 houses perished in the flames.

It is as unnecessary as it would be unprofitable to follow the recent contentions of Legitimists, Orleanists, Imperialists, and Republicans, in their hitherto abortive attempts to establish a definite form of government, according to their several ideas of what is best adapted for France. At the present moment the maintenance of law and order has been confided by the Assembly to the hands of Marshal MacMahon, duke of Magenta, for a period of seven years (*Septennate*), as president of the executive ministry. But, unfortunately, this is not a clearly defined and firmly organised government.

The *Septennate* has, in fact, made government much more difficult than before. It has divided the Assembly, and reduced it to impotence. As the Marshal-President is also commander-in-chief of the army, his power during the *Septennate* is to all intents and purposes that of a military dictatorship.

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